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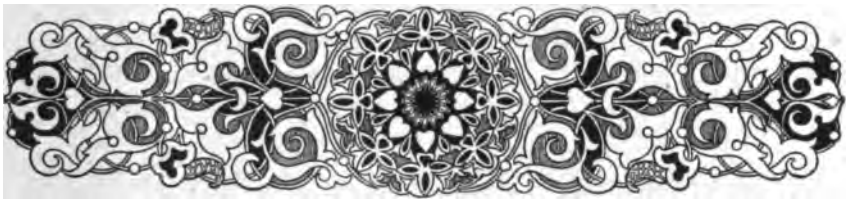
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Name of Supreme Being.

JHVH is the Hebrew name of the Supreme Being, erroneously written and pronounced *Jehovah*; see Notes on Psalms, p. 163, l. 36. The true pronunciation of JHVH is *Yahway*, or *Jahvéh*, the initial *j* = *y*, as in *Hallelujah*, and the *é* as in English *there*, *where*. The first *h* in JHVH should be sounded as an aspirate. The accent is on the final syllable. Compare Introductory Remarks, p. vii, l. 16, and p. viii, l. 40[a].

Explanation of Colors.

YELLOW (for instance, p. 39) indicates the code commonly known as the *Law of Holiness* (H; see p. 56, l. 22; p. 83, l. 7), the compiler of which cannot be separated very widely from the priestly prophet Ezekiel (about 570 B. C.).

BROWN (for instance, p. 5) marks *Later Strata* (440–400 B. C.) *of the Priestly Code* (P; see p. 56, l. 26; p. 58, l. 7; Notes on Joshua, p. 46, l. 8), the main body of which (compiled in Babylonia about 500 B. C.) is printed on a white background without any additional coloring.

Italics.

Italics (for instance, p. 43, ll. 17–24) indicate *Redactional* (editorial) *Additions* (compare Introductory Remarks, p. vi, l. 24; Notes on Joshua, p. 46, l. 15).

Footnotes.

Words or passages printed as notes at the bottom of the pages of the Translation represent *Subsequent Additions* to the original text; see Introductory Remarks, p. vi, l. 28.



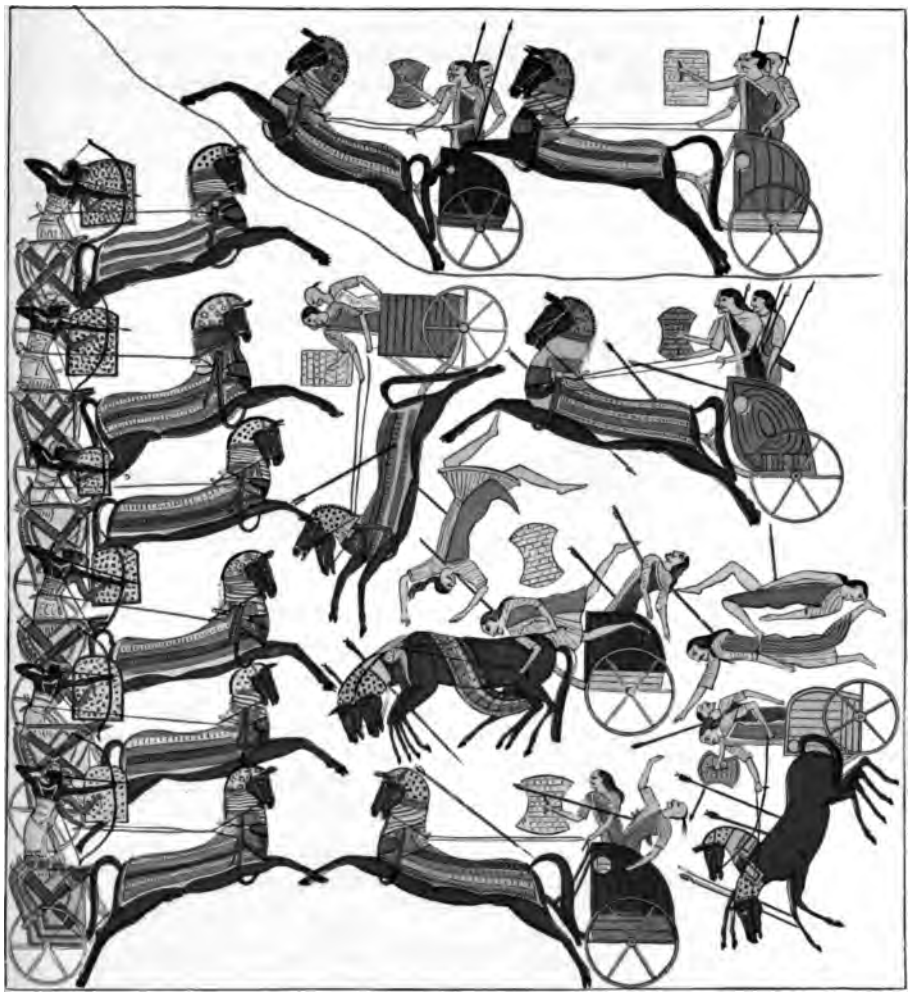
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Joshua *Frontispiece*

EGYPTIAN AND HITTITE CHARIOTS (ABÛ SIMBEL)

(*See p. 91, l. 37*)

The Book of Joshua

BENNETT

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THE SACRED BOOKS

OF THE

Old and New Testaments

A NEW ENGLISH TRANSLATION

With Explanatory Notes and Pictorial Illustrations

PREPARED BY

eminent Biblical scholars of Europe and of America

AND EDITED WITH THE ASSISTANCE OF

HORACE HOWARD FURNESS

BY

Paul Haupt

PROFESSOR IN THE JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY

BALTIMORE

PART 6

The Book of Joshua

TRANSLATED BY

W · H · BENNETT



New York

DODD, MEAD, AND COMPANY

1899

London

JAMES CLARKE AND COMPANY

Stuttgart

DEUTSCHE VERLAGS-ANSTALT

Bible. O.T. Joshua.

THE

Book of Joshua

A NEW ENGLISH TRANSLATION

PRINTED IN COLORS EXHIBITING THE COMPOSITE STRUCTURE OF THE BOOK

With Explanatory Notes

AND PICTORIAL ILLUSTRATIONS

BY

THE REV. W. H. BENNETT, M.A.

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FELLOW OF ST. JOHN'S COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE.

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Introductory Remarks

THE present rendering of the Old Testament is not a revision of the Authorized Version, but a New Translation from the Hebrew, in modern English. The aim has been to render the sense of the original as faithfully as possible rather than to sacrifice that sense in order to give a literal translation.

This new Translation appeals to all interested in the Bible. The Explanatory Notes are free from technical details which have no interest for the average reader. We had no desire (as the translators of the Authorized Version say in their Preface) *to weary the unlearned, who need not know so much; and trouble the learned, who know it already.* The reader may rest assured, however, that all variations from the Authorized Version in the present Translation are the results of the ripest Biblical scholarship of the present generation both in Europe and in America. The translation is based throughout on the new critical edition of the Hebrew text of the Old Testament, published under the auspices of the Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore.

Departures from the Received Text are indicated by special marks, whereby the reader can see at a glance whether a variation is based on parallel passages, or on the authority of the Ancient Versions, or is merely a conjectural emendation, &c. These critical marks are, designedly, so unobtrusive as not to interfere with the comfort of the ordinary reader; they are mainly intended for the benefit of those who are interested in the details of textual criticism.

Explanation of Critical Marks.

(1) ‹ › (*i. e.* V = *Versions*) indicate a reading adopted on the authority of the Ancient Versions (*Septuagint*, *Peshita*, *Targums*, *Vulgate*, &c., in reference to which the reader may consult the Preface to the Authorized Version, also the List of Abbreviations below, p. viii, under LXX, Pesh., Targ., Vulg.). The marks ‹ᵃ›, ‹ᵝ›, &c. indicate that the footnotes (*cf.* below, p. vi, l. 32) to which those letters refer are omitted in the Ancient Versions. Punctuation marks enclosed in ‹› (e. g. *Joshua*, p. 22, l. 15) indicate that this punctuation has been adopted on the authority of the Ancient Versions.

(2) ‹ › (*i. e.* c = *conjecture*) indicate Conjectural Emendations.

(3) ‹ › (*i. e.* נ, the first letter of the Hebrew word נִקּוּד *niqqûd* 'punctuation') indicate changes involving merely a different division of the consonantal

text, or a departure from the vowel-points which the so-called Masorites added to the original consonantal text in the eighth and ninth centuries A. D.

(4) ° ° (*i. e.* Q = *Qĕrê*) indicate that the marginal reading (Heb. *Qĕrê* 'what is to be read') has been adopted instead of the *Kĕthîb* 'what is written.'

(5) ' ' indicate changes introduced by reason of Parallel Passages.

(6) ' ' indicate Doubtful Words or Passages.

(7) ' ' indicate deviations from the Received (or Masoretic) Text, suggested by the Versions as well as by Parallel Passages.

(8) ' ' indicate departures from the Masoretic reading of the consonantal text, which are supported by the Ancient Versions.

(9) In cases where critical marks occur without any letters or words between them (-, ◌, &c.), Omissions are indicated, based on the Versions or on Conjectural Emendations, &c.

(10) ' ' indicate words implied, but not expressed, in the Hebrew. These marks, therefore, take the place of *Italics* in the Authorized Version.

(11) [] indicate Transposed Passages, the traditional position of the words in the Received Text being marked by [], while the transposed words are enclosed in []; see *e. g.* p. 5, ll. 1 . 31 ; p. 29, l. 40 ; p. 30, l. 2.

(12) | (*e. g.* p. 22, l. 15 ; p. 25, l. 4 ; p. 29, l. 39) indicates transposition of the Masoretic ":" which marks the end of a verse in the Hebrew Text.

(13) indicate Corrupt and Unintelligible Passages.

(14) * * * * * indicate Lacunæ in the Hebrew Text.

(15) For the symbols -, see below, p. 46, l. 27.

Explanation of Colors.

Older incorporated documents or later sections in Biblical Books of a composite character are printed on backgrounds of different colors. The explanation of the colors employed in *Joshua* is given on p. 45, ll. 43 ff.

Italics.

Passages printed in *Italics* (*e. g.* p. 7, ll. 16–22) represent Redactional Additions ; *cf.* p. 46, l. 15 ; p. 61, l. 37, &c.

Footnotes.

Words or passages printed as notes at the bottom of the pages of the translation (*e. g.* p. 35) represent subsequent additions to the original text.

Marginal Figures.

In the Explanatory Notes the figures in the margin on the right refer to the chapters and verses commented on ; the figures in the margin on the left merely number the lines. On those pages, however, where there are no references to chapters and verses in the margin the line-numbers are placed in the outer margin. In the Translation the lines are always numbered in the inner margin, while the traditional numbers of the chapters and verses are placed in the outer margin.

Heavy-faced Numerals.

Heavy-faced numerals are used instead of Roman letters to distinguish the number of the chapter from the number of the verse ; *e. g.* Ps. **88**, 8 = Psalm lxxxviii, verse 8 ; but Pss. **88** . **89** = Psalm lxxxviii and Psalm lxxxix.

References to Biblical Passages.

References to Biblical passages follow, throughout, the Authorized Version, not the Hebrew Text. It is well known that the division of the chapters is occasionally not the same in the Hebrew and in the English Bibles. Where the numeration of the Hebrew text differs it has sometimes been added in parenthesis (*e. g.* p. 59, l. 51).

Untranslated Hebrew Words.

A few Hebrew words have been left untranslated, viz. *ben*, the Hebrew word for *son* (e. g. *Joshua ben-Nun = Joshua, the son of Nun*); *Sheôl* (Heb. *shĕ'ôl*), the abode of departed spirits, the habitation of the dead (Greek *Hades*); *Asheráh*, the sacred post or pole beside an altar (see *Ezekiel*, p. 106, l. 47); *Negeb*, the steppe-like region in the South of Palestine (see *Joshua*, p. 73, l. 19); *Arabah*, the deep depression of the Jordan Valley extending from the Sea of Galilee to the eastern gulf of the Red Sea (see p. 60, l. 17); *Selah* at the end of certain stanzas in the Psalms (see *Psalms*, p. 165, l. 8); *Satan*, in Hebrew = *adversary, accuser* (see Notes on Ps. **109**, 6); *Hallelujah* (Ps. **104**, 35 &c.) = Praise ye JAH (a shorter form of JHVH); *Sabaoth* (*cf.* Jas. **5**, 4; Rom. **9**, 29 = Is. **1**, 9) in the name *JHVH Sabaoth*, JHVH of the Hosts, *i. e.* the God of the armies of Israel (1 Sam. **17**, 45; *cf.* Pss. **44**, 9; **60**, 10 = **108**, 11). For JHVH, see below, List of Abbreviations, p. viii.

Transliteration of Oriental Names.

All Biblical names are given in the form used in the Authorized Version. In the transliteration of other Hebrew words, or of modern Oriental (Arabic) names, the vowels have their Italian sounds: *â* is like the *a* in *far* or *father*; *î* is the *i* in *marine*; and *û* = *oo* in *cool*; *ê* = *a* in *name*; short *i* = *i* in *pin*; &c. (e. g. *Tel-Abû-Qudês* = *Tel-Aboo-Koodace*). As to the consonants, *j* and *y* are pronounced as in English; *q* has about the same sound as English *c* in *cool* (not as *k* in *keel*, or *qu* in *queen*); ' is the Arabic *Ain*, the *voiced* form of the Arabic *ḥ* which may be described as a stronger variety of our *h*; *kh* is the guttural *ch* in German or Scotch *loch* (Spanish *x* or *j*); *ç* is a modification of our *s* (with an *inner rounding*), which affects the pronunciation of the following vowels (e. g. *çîn*, not = *seen*, but more like *sane*; *çâ* = *saw*, &c.). In the majority of English books of a popular character the letters *k* and *s* are used for *q* and *ç*, respectively (e. g. *el-Aksa* for *el-Aqçâ*; see *Psalms*, p. 235, l. 38).

Spelling.

English readers who object to the 'American' spelling, *honor*, &c., may be referred to HENRY SWEET'S *New English Grammar* (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1892), p. xi and § 1710, &c., or to Dr. MURRAY'S remarks on the spelling of *-or* in the *New English Dictionary on Historical Principles* (Clarendon Press).

Abbreviations.

1, 2, 3, &c., before the name of a Biblical book, stand for First Book, Second Book, Third Book, &c., respectively: 1 Kings is the First Book of Kings.

^{2}, or ^{3}, &c., after the title of a book stands for second or third editions, respectively.— For E^2, &c., see E, &c.

^{a} stands for first part (or first line) of a verse. Subdivisions of parts of verses are indicated by $^{\alpha\ \beta}$, respectively; *e. g.* **2**, 14$^{a\beta}$ (*Judges*, p. 54, l. 36) refers to the second clause ($^\beta$) of the first part (^{a}) of the verse (*and delivered them to spoilers who despoiled them*). In reference to lines of pages

printed in two columns, [a] and [b] mean first and second columns, respectively.

ad loc. = On the passage.

ARV = Authorized and Revised Versions.

AV = Authorized Version.

AV^{M} = Authorized Version, margin.

[b] = Second part (or second line) of a verse; also second column; see [a].

[c] = Third part (or third line) of a verse; see [a].

c., or C. = Chapter.

cc., or CC. = Chapters.

Cant. = Song of Solomon (*Canticles*).

Chr., or Chron. = Chronicles.

[d] = Fourth part (or fourth line) of a verse; see [a].

D = Deuteronomy, or the author of Deuteronomy; see *Joshua*, p. 44, l. 11.

E = Ephraimitic Document; see *Joshua*, p. 45, l. 48; *Judges*, p. 46, l. 24.

E^{2} = Later additions to E; see *Joshua*, p. 45, l. 49; *Judges*, p. 46, l. 40.

f. = and the following verse (or line, or page, &c.).

ff. = and the following verses (or lines, or pages, &c.).

H = The Law of Holiness (Lev. **17-26**); see *Leviticus*, p. 56, l. 22.

J = Judaic Document; see *Joshua*, p. 45, l. 44; *Judges*, p. 46, l. 23.

J^{2} = Later additions to J; see *Joshua*, p. 45, l. 45.

JE = The Prophetical Narrative of the Hexateuch, composed of J and E; see *Joshua*, p. 45, l. 51.

JHVH = the Hebrew name of the Supreme Being, erroneously written and pronounced *Jehovah*. The true pronunciation is *Yahway*, or *Jahvéh*, the *j* = *y*, as in *Hallelujah*, and the *e* as in English *where*, *there*; the first *h* should be sounded as an aspirate, and the accent is on the last syllable. The monstrous form *Jehovah* (which is a combination of the consonants of JHVH with the vowels of the Hebrew word for Lord, *Adonai*) was first introduced by a Franciscan Friar, PETRUS GALATINUS, in 1516 A. D. See *Psalms*, p. 163, ll. 36 ff.

LXX = Septuagint, the ancient Greek Version of OT, made in Egypt by Hellenistic Jews (3d-1st cent. B. C.).

M = margin. *Cf.* AV, RV.

NT = New Testament.

OLZ = *Orientalistische Literatur-Zeitung* (Berlin).

OT = Old Testament.

P = Priestly Code; see *Leviticus*, p. 56; *Joshua*, p. 44, l. 19.

P* = Later additions to P; see *Joshua*, p. 46, l. 7; *Leviticus*, p. 58, l. 7.

Pesh. = Peshita, the earliest Syriac Version of the Old Testament.

PSBA = Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archæology (London).

R = Redactor or editor.

R^{D} = Deuteronomistic editors; see *Joshua*, p. 46, l. 24.

R^{JE} = Redactor of JE; see *Joshua*, p. 46, l. 21; *Judges*, p. 46, ll. 26. 45.

R^{P} = Priestly editors; see *Joshua*, p. 46, l. 19.

RT = Received Text; see above, p. vi, l. 7.

RV = Revised Version.

RV^{M} = Revised Version, margin.

Sir. = Ecclesiasticus (The Wisdom of Jesus, the son of Sirach).

Targ. = Targum, the Jewish translation or paraphrase of the Scriptures in the Western Aramaic dialect.

v., or V. = Verse.

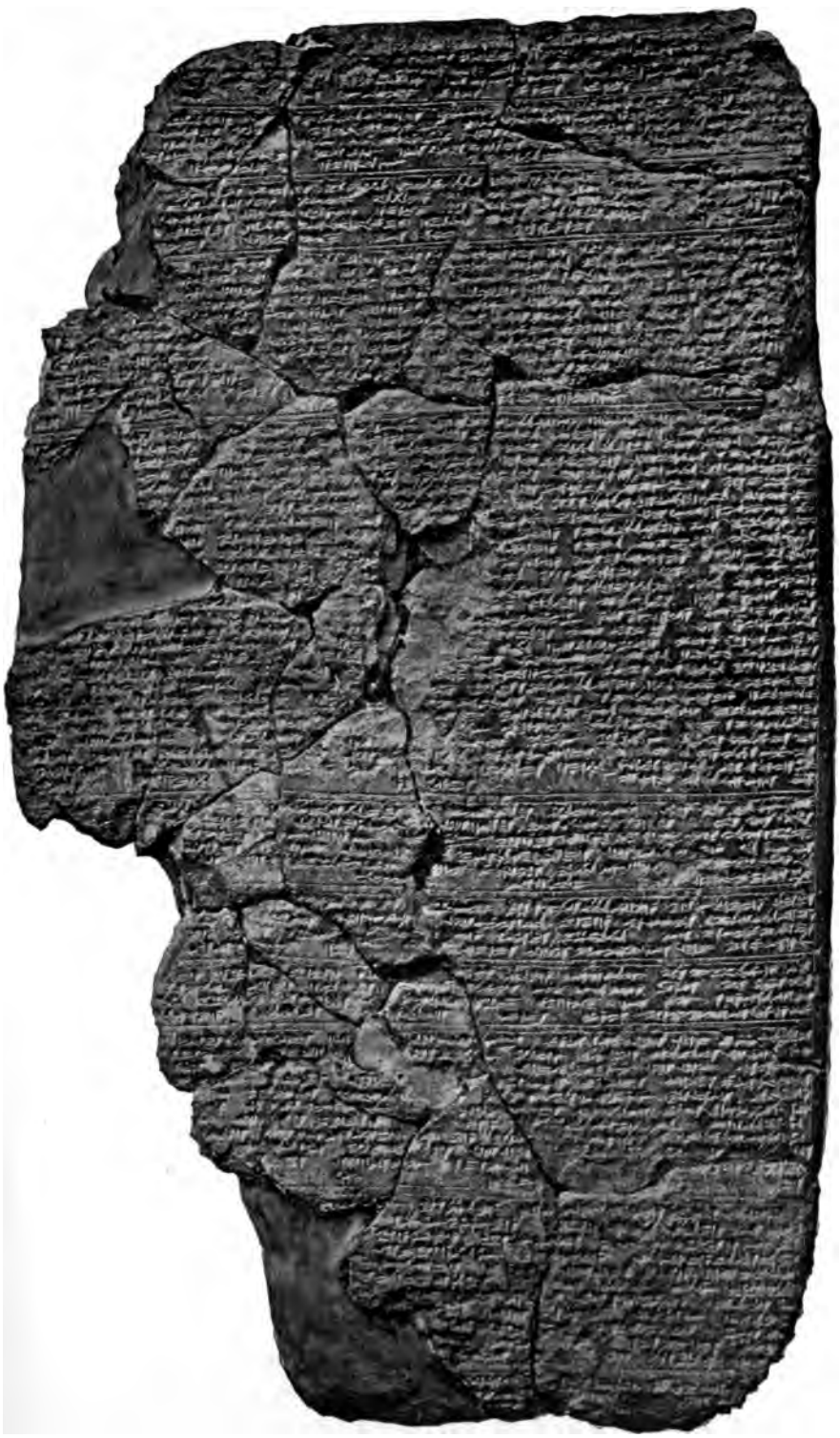
vv., or VV. = Verses.

Vulg. = Vulgate, the ancient Latin Version of the Bible, made by St. Jerome about 400 A. D.

ZA = *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie.*

ZAT = *Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft* (Giessen).

For a complete List of Abbreviations (including a large number which would not require explanation if the present Translation were for the exclusive use of American or English readers) as well as for the extremely instructive Extracts from the Preface to the Authorized Version, admirably illustrating the principles which have guided us in preparing this new translation of the Scriptures, the reader may consult the Introductory Remarks prefixed to the Books of Judges, Isaiah, and Psalms, pp. VII-XII.



Joshua

To face p. 1

CUNEIFORM DISPATCH OF DUSHRATTA TO AMENOPHIS IV.

(See p. 50, l. 19)

Joshua

1. The Conquest

The Lord's Charge to Joshua.

AFTER the death of Moses, the Servant[1] of JHVH, 1, 1
JHVH spoke to Joshua ben-Nun, the Minister[1] of
Moses, thus: My Servant[1] Moses is dead; now 2
therefore arise, pass here over the Jordan, thou
and all this people, to the land which I am about
to give them.[a] I have given you every place upon 3
which the sole of your foot shall tread, as I said
to Moses. Your territory shall extend from the 4
Wilderness and the Lebanon yonder to the Great
River, the river Euphrates,[b] and westward to the Great Sea.[2] No 5
one shall hold his own against thee all the days of thy life:
as I was with Moses, I will be with thee; I will not fail thee
nor forsake thee.[4] Be strong and firm, for thou thyself shalt 6
cause this people to inherit the land which I swore to their fathers
to give them. Only be thou very strong and firm to observe 7
faithfully all[c] that my Servant Moses commanded thee; do not
turn from it to the right hand or to the left, that thou mayst
deal prudently whithersoever thou goest. This book of the Law 8

1, 2 [1] to the Israelites 4 [2] all the land of the Hittites[3] 7 [c] the Law

1 shall not depart from thy mouth, but thou shalt meditate thereon
day and night,[5] that thou mayst observe faithfully all that is written
therein; then wilt thou make thy way prosperous, and thou wilt
9 deal prudently. Have I not commanded thee? Be strong and
firm, neither fearful nor dismayed: thy God, JHVH, is with thee
whithersoever thou goest.

Joshua's Charge to the Officers

and to the Two Tribes and to the Half-tribe.

1,10.11 JOSHUA commanded the officers[6] of the people, as follows: Pass
through the midst of the camp, and thus command the people:
Prepare yourselves food; for, three days hence,[7] ye shall here
pass over the Jordan to take possession of the land, of which your
12 God, JHVH, is about to give you possession. And to the Reubenites,
Gadites, and the half-tribe of Manasseh Joshua spoke, as follows:
13 Remember the charge which Moses, the Servant of JHVH, gave
you: your God, JHVH, gives you a permanent abode, and ◦ gives
14 you this land. Your wives, little ones, and cattle, shall dwell in
the land which Moses gave you beyond the Jordan;[8] but you
yourselves, all the fighting men, shall pass over in battle array at
15 the head of your brethren, •and shall help them, until JHVH give
rest to your fellow-tribesmen as well as to you, and they also pos-
sess the land which your God, JHVH, is going to give them; then
shall ye return to the land of your possession,<•> which Moses, the
16 Servant of JHVH, gave you beyond the Jordan, eastward. They
answered Joshua: All that thou hast commanded us, we will
17 do; and whithersoever thou sendest us, we will go; we will obey
thee in all things as we obeyed Moses; only thy God, JHVH, be
18 with thee, as He was with Moses! Whosoever rebels against thy
commandment, and does not obey in all that thou commandest
him, shall be put to death; only be strong and firm!

Rahab and the Spies.

2,1 JOSHUA ben-Nun sent secretly from Shittim[1] two men as spies,
commanding them: Go, note the land and •city of• Jericho.[2]
They went,[3] and entered the house of a harlot, whose name
2 was Rahab,[4] and there they lay down to sleep. And it was told
to the King of Jericho: Behold, some Israelites came here last

1,15 •and possess it



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To face p. 2

PLAIN OF JERICHO

(See p. 58, l. 40)

night to spy out the land. Then the King of Jericho sent to 2,3
Rahab, thus commanding her: Bring forth the men who came
to thee;[a] they have come to spy out the whole land. But the 4
woman took the two men, and hid‹› ·them·, and said: The
men, indeed, came to me, but I knew not whence they were; 5
when the gate was about to be shut at dark, the men went out;
I know not whither they went; pursue them quickly, and ye
will catch them. But she had taken them up to the roof, and 6
hidden them under the flax-stalks which she had there spread out.
So the men pursued them by the road toward the Jordan, as 7
far as the fords, and as soon as the pursuers had gone out they
shut the gate. ·The men· were not yet lain down, when ·Rahab· 8
came up to them on the roof, and said: I know that JHVH 9
has given you the land, and that the fear of you has fallen upon
us, and that all the inhabitants of the land are faint-hearted at
your approach;[5] for we have heard how JHVH dried up the 10
waters of the Red Sea before you, when ye came out of Egypt,
and what ye did to Sihon and Og,[6] the kings of the Amorites,
who were beyond the Jordan. When we heard that, our hearts 11
trembled, and there was not a man here whose spirit did not sink
at your approach; your God, JHVH, He is God in heaven above
and on earth beneath. Therefore, now swear to me by JHVH that, 12
because I have dealt kindly with you, ye also will deal kindly with
my family, and give me a sure sign,[7] and that ye will spare the 13
lives of my father and mother and brothers and sisters and all
that belong to them, and that ye will deliver us from death. The 14
men said to her: Our lives for yours,[8] if ye do not betray this
matter of ours; and when JHVH gives us the land, we will deal
kindly and truly with thee. She let them down by a rope through 15
the window;[9] ‹β›(she dwelt upon the wall). She said to them: 16
Get to the Hill-country, lest the pursuers come upon you; hide
there three days, until the pursuers are returned; afterward ye
may go your way. *The men said to her: We will not be bound by* 17
this oath which thou hast made us swear, ·unless·, when we come 18
into the land, thou tie this scarlet thread to the window *through*
which thou hast let us down, and gather to thee into the house
thy father and mother and brothers and all thy relatives. No 19
blame shall attach to us for the death of any one who goes forth
from the doors of thy house into the street; but for the death

2,3 [a] who came to thy house

15 [β] for her house was upon the town-wall

of any one who is with thee in the house, if any lay hand on
20 him, thou mayst call us to account: if, however, thou betray this
matter of ours, we will not be bound by the oath which thou hast
21 made us swear. She said: Be it according to your words! Then
she sent them away, and they departed: and she tied the scarlet 5
22 thread to the window. They departed, and came to the Hill-country,
and stayed there three days until the pursuers were returned. The
23 pursuers had searched all the way, but did not find them. Then
the two men returned, and came down from the Hill-country, and
crossed over, and came to Joshua ben-Nun, and told him all that 10
24 had happened to them. They said to Joshua JAVH has given
the whole land into our hand, and the inhabitants of the land
are faint-hearted at our approach.

Crossing the Jordan.

3, 1 JOSHUA rose early in the morning, and they moved from 15
Shittim, and came to the Jordan,[1] he and all the Israelites, and
2 spent the night there before they crossed over. After three
3 days the officers went through the camp, and commanded the
people, as follows: When ye see the Ark of the Covenant of
your God, JAVH,[2] and the Levitical priests bearing it, then shall 20
4 ye also bestir yourselves, and follow it; [illegible] that
[illegible] may [illegible] Joshua said to the people: Purify
5 yourselves, for to-morrow JAVH will do wonders among you. And 25
6 to the priests Joshua said: Take up the Ark of the Covenant,
and pass on at the head of the people: so they took up the Ark
of the Covenant, and went at the head of the people. JAVH
said to Joshua: This day will I begin to exalt thee in the eyes
of all the people of Israel, that they may know that as I was 30
4, 1 with Moses so will I be with thee. [illegible] Joshua as
2 follows: Take twelve men of the people, a man from each
tribe, and thus command them: Take for me from the midst of
the Jordan, from the place where the feet of the priests shall
stand firm, twelve stones, and carry them over with you, and lay 35

them down in the place where ye are to spend the night.] Thou 3,8
shalt thus command the priests who bear the Ark of the Covenant:
When ye come to the edge of the water of the Jordan, ye shall
stand still in the Jordan. Joshua said to the Israelites: Come 9
hither, and hear the words of your God, JHVH. Joshua said: 10
Hereby shall ye know that there is a Living God[6] among you who
will assuredly at your approach dispossess the Canaanites, Hittites,
Hivites, Perizzites, Girgashites, Amorites, and Jebusites. Behold, the 11
Ark of the Covenant *of the Lord of the whole earth* passes on into
the Jordan at the head of you. Now take twelve men of the tribes 12
of Israel, a man from each tribe. When the soles of the feet of 13
the priests who bear the Ark of JHVH, *the Lord of the whole earth*,
rest in the water of the Jordan, the water of the Jordan shall be
cut off: the water that comes down from above shall stand in one
heap. When the people moved from their tents to cross the 14
Jordan, the priests bearing the Ark *of the Covenant* at the head of
the people,—when the‹ priests› who bore the Ark came to the 15
Jordan, and the feet of the priests who bore the Ark were dipped
in the edge of the water (now the Jordan overflowed all its
banks all the days of the harvest[7]), the waters which came down 16
from above stood still: they rose up in one heap, very far off at
Adam,[8] the city which is beside Zaretan;[9] and the water that went
down to the Sea of the Arabah,[10] the Salt Sea,[11] failed, was cut
off; so the people crossed over opposite Jericho, and the priests 17
who bore the Ark *of the Covenant of JHVH* stood still on dry
ground, firm in the midst of the Jordan, while all Israel were passing
over on dry ground, until the whole nation had finished passing
over the Jordan.

Erection of a Monument.

WHEN the whole nation had finished passing over the 4,1
Jordan [] Joshua called the twelve men whom he had 4
provided from the Israelites, a man from each tribe. Joshua said 5
to them: Pass into the midst of the Jordan before the Ark of
the Covenant of your God, JHVH, and let every man take up a stone
on his shoulders, according to the number of the tribes of Israel,
that there may be a monument among you, so that when your chil- 6
dren ask you hereafter: What is the meaning of these stones? then 7
ye may tell them: ‹They are a memorial of the day› when the water
of the Jordan was cut off at the approach of the Ark of the
Covenant of JHVH (when it passed over the Jordan the water

of the Jordan was cut off); they shall be a memorial to the
Israelites for ever. So the Israelites did as Joshua commanded,
and took up twelve stones from the midst of the Jordan, according
to the number of the tribes of the Israelites, as JHVH had com-
manded Joshua; they took them to the place where they passed
the night, and there laid them down. **Twelve stones did Joshua
set up in the midst of the Jordan, in the place where the feet
of the priests who bore the Ark of the Covenant stood firm,**
and those ‹stones› are still there to-day. **The priests who bore
the Ark stood still in the midst of the Jordan** *until everything was
accomplished which JHVH had commanded Joshua to speak to the
people*;[a] **and the people passed over in haste; and when the
people had finished passing over, the Ark of JHVH and the
priests**[2] **passed over to the head of the people. The Reubenites,
the Gadites, and the half-tribe of Manasseh passed over in battle
array at the head of the Israelites, as Moses had commanded them.**[3]
About forty thousand men equipped for war[4] *passed over in the
presence of JHVH to battle, to the plains of Jericho.* On that day
JHVH exalted Joshua in the eyes of all Israel, and they feared him
as they feared Moses all the days of his life.[5] JHVH said to Joshua:
Command the priests who bear the Ark of the ‹Covenant›,[6] that
they come up out of the Jordan. Then Joshua commanded the
priests: Come up out of the Jordan! When the priests who bore
the Ark of the Covenant of JHVH came up out of the midst of the
Jordan, as soon as the soles of the feet of the priests were set
upon dry ground, the water of the Jordan returned to its place,
and overflowed all its banks as before. The people went up from
the Jordan on the tenth day of the first month,[7] and encamped
in Gilgal[8] at the eastern extremity of the territory of Jericho. ***Those
twelve stones which they had taken from the Jordan Joshua set up in
Gilgal.*** Then he spoke thus to the Israelites: When hereafter
your children ask their fathers: What mean these stones? then ye
may tell your children: Israel passed over the Jordan on dry
land, because your God, JHVH, dried up the water of the Jordan
at your approach until ye had passed over (as your God, JHVH,
had done to the Red Sea, which He dried up at our approach
until we had passed over); so that all the peoples of the earth
may know that the hand of JHVH is strong, and that ‹they› may
fear[9] your God, JHVH, for ever.

4, 10 [a] just as Moses had commanded Joshua

When all the kings of the Amorites beyond the Jordan, westward, 5,1
and all the kings of the Canaanites near the Sea, heard how JHVH
had dried up the water of the Jordan at the approach of the
Israelites until ◦they◦ [1] had passed over, their heart trembled,
and at the approach of the Israelites there was no more spirit in them.

Circumcision.[2]

AT that time JHVH ◦said to Joshua◦: Make thee stone knives, 2
and circumcise the Israelites *again, a second time*; **and Joshua** 3
made ◦him stone knives, and circumcised the Israelites at the Hill
of the Foreskins. This is the reason[4] why Joshua circumcised 4
◦them◦: all the people who came out of Egypt, *the males, all the*
armed men, had died in the Wilderness, on the journey as they
came out of Egypt. All the people who came out were circumcised, 5
but all the people born in the Wilderness on the journey, as they
came out of Egypt, had been left uncircumcised. *The Israelites* 6
journeyed forty years in the Wilderness until an end was made of the
whole nation, the fighting men who came out from Egypt, who did not
listen to the voice of JHVH, to whom JHVH swore that He would not
show them the land, which JHVH had sworn to their fathers to give
us,[5] *a land flowing with milk and honey; their children whom He* 7
had raised up in their stead, those did Joshua circumcise, because they
were uncircumcised, they had not been circumcised on the journey.
After the whole nation had been circumcised, they remained there 8
in camp, till they were healed. JHVH said to Joshua: This day 9
have I rolled off from you the reproach of Egypt;[6] **and the name**
of that place was called Gilgal ◦and so remains◦ to this day.

Passover.

THE Israelites encamped at Gilgal, and kept the Passover, on 10
the fourteenth day of the month,[7] in the evening, on the plains
of Jericho. They ate what the land produced, unleavened cakes[8] 11
and wheat roasted at the fire, on the day following the Passover,
on that very day. The manna ceased ◦◦ when they ate what the 12
land produced; the Israelites had no manna, but in that year they
ate the fruit of the land of Canaan. * * * * *

5,12 ◦◦on the following day

Captain of the Host of the Lord.[9]

(Fragment; of unknown source)

5, 13 WHEN Joshua was near Jericho, he lifted up his eyes, and looked, and beheld a man standing in front of him with a drawn sword[10] in his hand. Joshua went to him, and said: Art
14 thou for us or for our enemies? He said: Not so, but as the captain of JHVH's host am I now come. Then Joshua fell on his face to the ground, and worshiped, and said to him: What does my
15 lord say to his servant? The captain of JHVH's host said to Joshua: Take off thy shoes, thou art standing on sacred ground![11] Joshua did so * * * * * *

Fall of Jericho.

6, 1 JERICHO had shut its gates, and was shut up at the approach
2 of the Israelites: none went out, and none came in.[1] But JHVH said to Joshua: Behold I have given Jericho and its
3 king and fighting men into your hand; ye shall compass the city, *all the armed men*, going once around it; thus shalt thou do
4 six days. Seven priests shall carry in front of the Ark seven rams' horns;[2] ***on the seventh day*** ye shall compass the city seven
5 times, *while the priests shall blow the horns*. When they blow a long blast on the ram's horn, when ye hear the sound of the horn, all the people shall give a great shout, and the wall of the city will fall down flat,[3] and the people shall advance, every man
6 straight forward. Then Joshua ben-Nun called the priests, and said to them: Take up the Ark of the Covenant, and let seven
7 priests carry seven rams' horns in front of the Ark of JHVH. And to the people she[4] said: Pass on, and march around the city, and
8 let the armed men pass on in front of the Ark of JHVH; let[5] the seven priests who carry the seven rams' horns in front of JHVH[6] pass on, *and blow the horns*, the Ark of the Covenant of JHVH fol-
9 lowing them, and the armed men going before the priests *who blow the horns*, the rear-guard following the Ark, *blowing the horns*
10 *as they go*. Joshua commanded the people, saying: Ye must not shout, nor let your voice be heard, nor must a word come forth out of your mouth, until I say to you: Shout! then shall ye
11 shout. He caused the Ark of JHVH to be borne around the city, going around it once; then they came to the camp, and spent
12 the night there. When Joshua rose early in the morning, the
13 priests took up the Ark of JHVH, and the seven priests who

carried in front of the Ark of JHVH seven rams' horns advanced, 6
blowing the horns as they went, the armed men going before
them, and the rear-guard following the Ark of JHVH, *blowing the*
horns as they went. On the second day they marched once 14
around the city, then they returned to the camp; thus they did
for six days. But on the seventh day, they rose up early, when 15
the dawn began to break, and marched in this way around the
city seven times. It was only on that day that they marched seven
times around the city. The seventh time, when the priests blew 16
the horns, Joshua said to the people: Shout! JHVH has given
you the city, but the city and all that is therein shall be devoted[7] 17
to JHVH; only the harlot, Rahab, shall be spared, she and all
who are with her in the house, because she hid the messengers
whom we sent; only beware of the devoted things lest ye ‹covet›[8] 18
and take any of them, and thereby make the camp of Israel
'devoted,' and bring calamity upon it; all silver and gold and 19
vessels of bronze[9] and iron are to be consecrated to JHVH: they
shall come into the treasury of JHVH. The people shouted, while 20
›the priests‹ blew the horns, and when the people heard the sound
of the horn, they gave a great shout, and the wall fell down
flat,[3] and they advanced to the city, each man straight onward,
and took it. They 'devoted' everything that was in the city, 21
putting to the sword both men and women, young and old, oxen,
sheep, and asses. Then Joshua said to the two men who went 22
to spy out the land: Go to the harlot's house, and bring out
from it the woman and everything belonging to her, as ye swore
to her. So the young men, the spies, went, and brought out 23
Rahab, and her father and mother, and all that belonged to her;
they brought out all their kindred, and placed them outside the camp
of Israel.[10] Then they burnt the city and all that was therein, 24
only the silver and gold and vessels of bronze and iron they put
into the treasury of the house of JHVH. But Joshua spared the 25
lives of the harlot Rahab and her father's family, and all belonging
to her, and she lived among the Israelites, ›and her descendants
are here‹ down to this day, because she hid the messengers whom
Joshua sent to spy out Jericho. At that time Joshua laid an 26
oath ›upon the people‹, saying: Cursed by JHVH be the man who
undertakes to rebuild this city of Jericho;

The laying of the foundation shall cost him his first-born,
The setting up of the gates shall cost him his youngest son![11]

JHVH was with Joshua, and his fame was spread abroad throughout 27
the land.

Achan and the Defeat at Ai.

7,1 *THE Israelites broke faith in the matter of the devoted things: Achan*[1] *ben-Carmi ben-Zabdi ben-Zerah, of the tribe of Judah, took some of the devoted things, and the anger of* JHVH *was kindled*
2 *against the Israelites.* Joshua sent men from Jericho to Ai,[2] which
is near Beth-aven,[3] eastward of Beth-el, and said to them: Go up,
and spy out the land. After the men were gone thither, and had
3 spied out Ai, they returned to Joshua, and said to him:[4] Do not
send all the people to attack Ai, but ·only· about two or three
thousand men; ·do not make all the people toil thither·; ·the
4 men of Ai· are few. So there went up thither about three thou-
5 sand men of the people, but they fled before the men of Ai; the
men of Ai killed about thirty-six of them, and pursued ·the rest·
from the gate as far as Shebarim,[5] killing ·others of· them at
the Descent;[6] and the hearts of the people trembled and became
6 like water. Then Joshua rent his garments, and fell on his face
to the ground in front of the Ark of JHVH, until the evening, he
7 and the Elders of Israel; they put dust upon their heads. Joshua
said: Ah! Lord, JHVH, why didst Thou let this people cross
the Jordan ·only· to give us into the hand of the Amorites to be
destroyed? Would we had been content, and remained beyond
8 the Jordan! I beseech Thee,[7] O Lord — what can I say after
9 Israel has fled before its enemies; so that the Canaanites and all
the inhabitants of the land will hear, and encompass us, and cut off
our name from the earth; what wilt Thou do for Thy great name?
10 JHVH said to Joshua: Arise! Why art thou thus fallen upon thy
11 face? Israel has sinned, and they have also transgressed my cove-
nant which I commanded them, and have taken some of the devoted
things, and stolen, and dealt deceitfully, and put the devoted things
12 among their own goods; therefore the Israelites cannot withstand their
enemies: ·they flee before their enemies· because they have become
'devoted.'[8] I will be with you no longer, unless you destroy the
13 devoted things in the midst of you. Arise! purify[9] the people,
and say: Purify yourselves for to-morrow; for thus says JHVH,
the God of Israel: Devoted things are in the midst of thee, O
Israel, thou canst not withstand thine enemies, until ye send
14 away the devoted things from the midst of you. In the morning
ye shall present yourselves ·before JHVH·,[10] tribe by tribe; the tribe
which JHVH takes[11] shall present itself, clan by clan; and the clan
which JHVH takes shall present itself, family by family; and the
15 family which JHVH takes shall present itself, man by man. He



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VALLEY OF ACHOR

(See p. 66, l. 34)

who is found with a devoted thing shall be burnt, he and all 7
belonging to him, because he has transgressed the covenant of
JHVH, ‹and committed crime in Israel›.

So Joshua rose early in the morning, and presented Israel 16
‹before JHVH›, tribe by tribe; and the tribe of Judah was taken.
When he presented the clan‹s›[12] of Judah, the clan of the Zarhites 17
‹was› ta‹k›en›; and when he presented the clan of the Zarhites,
‹family› by ‹family›, Zabdi was taken; and when he presented his 18
family, man by man, Achan ben-Carmi ben-Zabdi ben-Zerah, *of the*
tribe of Judah, was taken. Then said Joshua to Achan: My son,[13] 19
honor[14] *the God of Israel*, JHVH; make confession[15] to Him, and
show me what thou hast done; hide it not from me! Achan answered 20
Joshua: Verily, I have sinned against *the God of Israel*, JHVH,
and thus and thus[16] have I done. When I saw among the spoil 21
a magnificent mantle from Shinar,[17] and two hundred shekels[18] of
silver, ‹and a bar of gold fifty shekels in weight›, I coveted them,
and took them; ‹the mantle is › hidden‹* in the ground within
my tent, and the silver under it. Then Joshua sent messengers, 22
and they ran to the tent, and ‹the mantle› was hidden in his tent,
and the silver under it.[19] They took them out of the tent, and 23
brought them to Joshua and all the Israelites,[20] and laid them
down before JHVH. Then Joshua, and all Israel with him, took 24
Achan *ben-Zerah,*‹*a*›[21] *and his sons and daughters, his oxen, asses,*
and sheep, and his tent, and all belonging to him, and brought
them[22] to the Valley of Achor.[23] Joshua said: Why hast thou 25
brought calamity upon us? JHVH will bring calamity upon thee
this day. *And all Israel stoned him*, and they burnt them,[22] ‹and
they stoned them›.[22] They raised over him a great heap of 26
stones ‹which is› still ‹there› to-day. Then JHVH relented.[24] There-
fore the name of that place is called the Valley of Achor[23] down
to this day.

Conquest of Ai.

JHVH said to Joshua: Be not afraid or dismayed! Take with 8,1
thee all the fighting men, set forth and march against Ai.
Behold, I have given into thy hand the king of Ai with his
people, his city, and his land; thou shalt do with Ai and its king, 2

7,21 *and they are hidden

24 *and the silver, and the mantle, and the bar of gold

8 as thou didst with Jericho and its king[1] (only the plunder and
the cattle may ye take as spoil);[2] set an ambush for the city
3 behind it. So Joshua and all the fighting men set forth to march
against Ai.[3] Joshua chose thirty thousand valiant men, and sent
4 them away by night, thus commanding them: Mark! ye are to
lie in ambush behind the city;[4] do not go very far from it, and be
5 ready all. I and all the people with me, will approach the city,
and when they come out to meet us, as before, we will flee before
6 them; and when they are come out after us until we have drawn
them away from the city, they will think: "They flee before us,
7 as before," and we will flee before them. Then shall ye come
out of the ambush, and take possession of the city; your God,
8 JHVH, will give it into your hand. When ye seize the city,
ye must set it on fire, according to the word of JHVH. Mark!
9 I have commanded you. Then Joshua sent them forth, and they
went to the place of ambush, and stayed between Beth-el and Ai,
westward of Ai, while Joshua passed that night in the ‹valley›.[5]
10 Joshua rose early in the morning, and mustered the people; then
he and the Elders of Israel advanced to Ai at the head of the people.
11 All the *fighting* men with him advanced, and when they came near
the city, and opposite to it, they encamped to the north, so that
12 the valley was between ‹them› and it. He took about five thou-
sand men, and put them in ambush between Beth-el and Ai, west
13 of ‹Ai›. *They*[6] *stationed the people, the whole host*[7] *who were north*
of the city, and its rear,[8] *west of the city, while Joshua ‹passed›*[9] *that*
14 *night in the valley.*[10] When the king of Ai saw ‹them› he hastened,
and the men of the city rose early, and marched out to meet
Israel in battle, he and his people, to the ‹Descent›[11] opposite the
Arabah;[12] he knew not that there was an ambush laid for him
15 behind the city. Joshua and all Israel were routed by[13] them,
16 and fled by the road toward the Wilderness;[14] all the people of
‹Ai› were called out to pursue them; they pursued Joshua, and
17 were drawn away from the city so that there was not a man left in
Ai‹› who did not go forth after Israel. They left the city open,
18 and pursued Israel. Then JHVH said to Joshua: Stretch forth
the javelin in thy hand toward Ai; I will give it into thy power.
When Joshua stretched forth the javelin in his hand toward the
19 city, the ambush came out quickly from its place; they ran when
he stretched forth his hand, and came to the city, took it, and

8, 17 [5]or Beth-el

hastened to set fire to it. When the men of Ai turned round, 8, 20
and looked, the smoke of the city went up to heaven, and they
had no strength to flee one way or the other; while the +Israelitish+
people who fled to the Wilderness turned upon their pursuers.
When Joshua and all Israel saw that the ambush had taken the 21
city, and the smoke of the city going up, they turned and slaugh-
tered the men of the city; and those +who had been in ambush+ 22
went out of the city to meet them so that the +men of Ai+ were
in the midst of Israel, some being on one side of them, and some
on the other. They were slaughtered until there was left of them
neither survivor nor fugitive. The king of Ai was captured alive 23
and taken before Joshua. When Israel had finished slaughtering all 24
the inhabitants of Ai *in the Wilderness, whither they had fled, and
they had all been put to the sword, till an end was made of them,
all Israel returned to Ai, and put +the rest of the inhabitants+ to
the sword. All who fell that day, both men and women, were 25
twelve thousand; indeed, all the inhabitants of Ai. Joshua did not 26
withdraw his hand which he had stretched[15] forth with the javelin,
until he had 'devoted' all the inhabitants of Ai. Only the cattle 27
and the plunder of that city the Israelites took to themselves as
spoil, according to the command which JHVH had given to Joshua.
Joshua burnt Ai, and made it a heap of ruins for ever, +and it 28
has remained+ a desolation down to this day.[16] The king of Ai 29
he hanged upon a tree till eventide; but at sunset[17] they took
down the dead body from the tree, at the command of Joshua,
and, having cast it down at the entrance of the gate[18] of the city,
they raised over it a great heap of stones +which is+ still +there+
to-day.

Altar on Mount Ebal and Reading of the Law.

THEN Joshua built an altar to the God of Israel, JHVH, on 30
Mount Ebal (as Moses, the Servant of JHVH, had commanded 31
the Israelites, as it is written in the book of the Law of Moses),
an altar[19] of unhewn stones, on which no iron tool had been
used; they offered on it burnt-offerings to JHVH, and sacrificed
peace-offerings;[20] while he wrote there on the stones[21] a duplicate 32
of the Law of Moses[22] which he had written for the Israelites.
All Israel, *both strangers and tribesmen*, with their elders, officers, 33
and judges stood on each side of the Ark, opposite the Levitical

8, 24 *in the field

8 Priests who bore the Ark of the Covenant of JHVH, half of them
in front of Mount Gerizim, and half in front of Mount Ebal, according
to the command which Moses, the Servant of JHVH, had formerly
34 given for the blessing[23] of the people.‹*› Afterwards Joshua read
all the words of the Law, the blessing and the curse, exactly 5
35 as it was written in the Book of the Law. There was nothing
of all that Moses had commanded, that Joshua did not read before
all the assembly of Israel, including the women and children, and
the strangers who journeyed with them.[24]

General Alliance against Israel.

9, 1 WHEN all the kings on the ·western· side of the Jordan heard
thereof, ·all the kings who were· in the Hill-country, in
the Lowlands, and on all the coast of the Great Sea as far as the
Lebanon, then the Hittites, Amorites, Canaanites, Perizzites, Hivites,
2 and Jebusites, ·all· gathered themselves together with one accord 15
to fight against Joshua and Israel.

Stratagem of the Gibeonites.

3 BUT when the inhabitants of Gibeon[1] heard what Joshua had
4 done to Jericho and to Ai, they, on their part, acted craftily,
and proceeded to ‹get› themselves ‹provisions›[2] ·for a journey·. They 20
took worn-out sacks for ·the backs of· their asses, and worn-out
5 wine-skins that had burst and been mended;[3] they put on worn-
out, patched shoes and worn-out clothes; all the bread they had
6 provided was dry and crumbled to pieces.[4] Then they came to
Joshua, to the camp at Gilgal,[5] and said *to him and* to the Men 25
of Israel: We are come from a far country; now, therefore, make
7 a treaty with us. The men of Israel said to the Hivites: Per-
haps ye live within our ·country·; how then can we make a treaty
8 with you? They said to Joshua: We are thy servants. But
Joshua said to them: Who are ye? and whence do ye come? 30
9 They said to him: Thy servants are come from a country very
far off, because of the name of thy God, JHVH; we have heard

8, 33 *Israel



Joshua

To face p. 14

GIBEON

(See p. 68, l. 51)

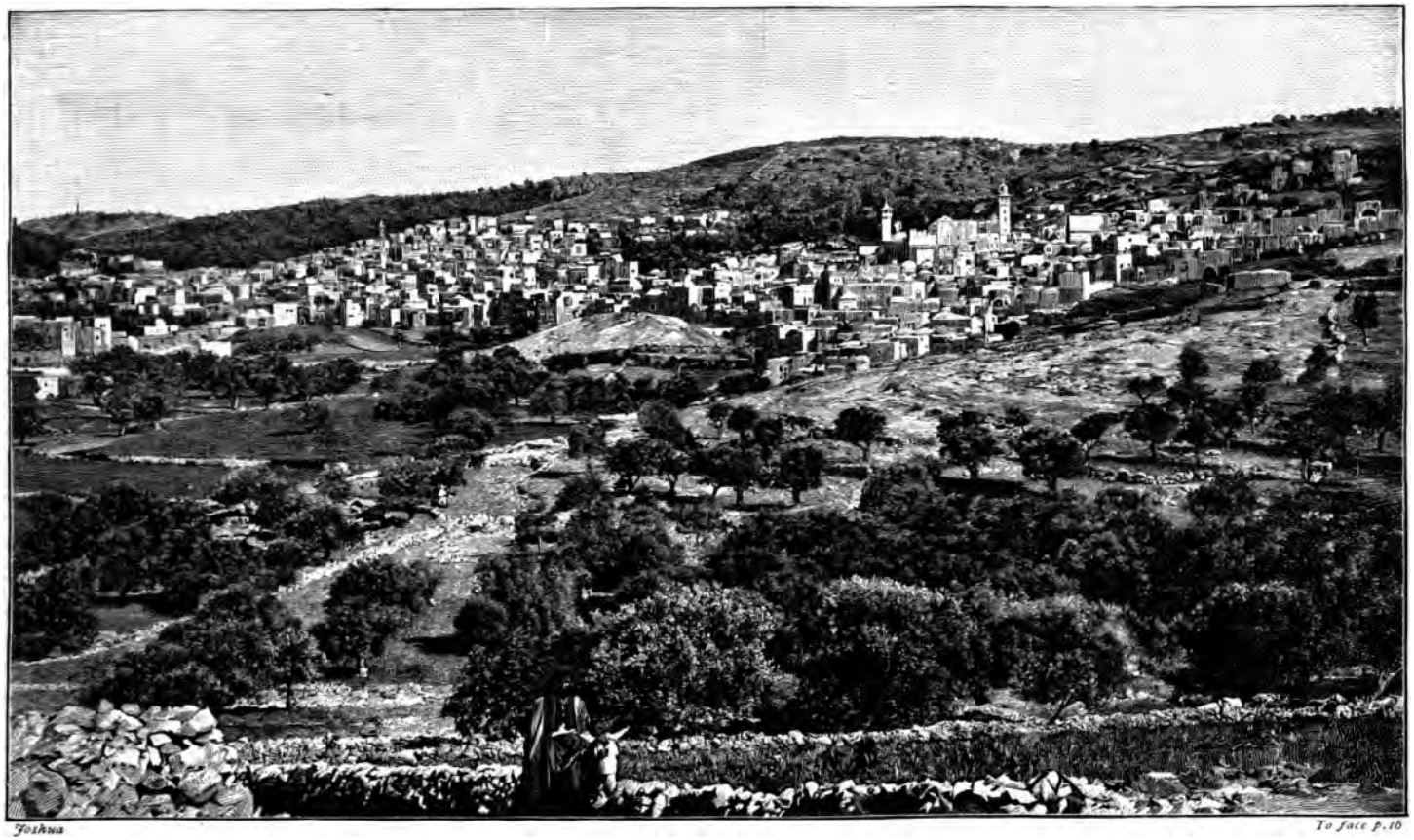
the fame of Him and all that He did in Egypt; all that He did 9, 10
to the two kings of the Amorites, who were beyond the Jordan,
to Sihon, king of Heshbon, and Og, king of Bashan, who reigned
in Ashtaroth. Our Elders[6] and all our fellow-countrymen said to 11
us: Take in your hands provisions for a journey, go to meet
them, and say to them: We are thy servants; *now, therefore, make
a treaty with us.* Here is our bread; we took it hot from our 12
houses for our provision, on the day when we set forth to come
to you; now it is dry and crumbled to pieces. Here are 13
wine-skins, which were new when we filled them; they have burst.
Here are our clothes and shoes, they are worn out through the
great length of the journey. Then the men ⁺of Israel⁺ partook 14
of their provisions, without asking counsel from JHVH. Joshua 15
made peace with them, and ⁺the Men of Israel⁺ made a treaty with
them, that their lives should be spared, and the Princes of the
Congregation swore to them ⁺an oath⁺. But at the end of three 16
days, after they had made the treaty with them, ⁺the Men of Israel⁺
heard that they were their neighbors, and lived within their ⁺country⁺.
When the Israelites advanced they came to their cities on the third 17
day;[7] their cities were Gibeon, Chephirah, Beeroth, and Kirjath-
jearim.[8] The Israelites did not kill them, because the Princes of 18
the Congregation had sworn to them by the God of Israel, JHVH;
but all the Congregation murmured against the Princes. Then all 19
the Princes said to all the Congregation: We have sworn to them
by the God of Israel, JHVH; therefore we cannot touch them
now. But this will we do to them: we will spare their lives, 20
lest wrath come upon us, on account of the oath which we swore
to them.‹*› Spare ye their lives,[9] and ‹let› the‹m› bec‹o›me 21
wood-cutters and water-carriers to all the Congregation. ‹So all
the Congregation did› as the Princes said to them. Joshua called 22
⁺the Gibeonites⁺, and said to them: Why have ye deceived us by
saying: We live very far from you, whereas ye live within our
⁺country⁺? Now shall ye be accursed, and never cease to be 23
slaves *and wood-cutters and water-carriers* for the house of my God.
They answered Joshua, and said: Assuredly, thy servants were told 24
what thy God, JHVH, had commanded His Servant, Moses, that all
the land should be given you, and all its inhabitants extirpated
to make room for you, and we feared greatly for our lives at your
approach; so we did this thing. Now we are in thy hand, do 25

9, 21 *and the Princes said to them

9, 26 with us as it seems to thee good and right. So he dealt with
them accordingly, and delivered them from the Israelites, so that
27 ·the Israelites· did not kill them.[10] Joshua assigned them that day
as wood-cutters and water-carriers to the Congregation and to the
altar of JHVH, ·and they serve· still to-day, in the place which
·JHVH· chose.[11]

Defeat of five Southern Kings at Gibeon.

10, 1 WHEN Adoni-zedec,[1] king of Jerusalem,[2] heard that Joshua
had taken Ai, and 'devoted' it, (as he did to Jericho and
its king, so had he done to Ai and its king), and that the
inhabitants of Gibeon had made their peace with Israel, and ·had
2 been allowed· to remain among them, they feared exceedingly,
because Gibeon was a great city, like one of the royal cities,[3] and
3 because it was greater than Ai, and all its men were warlike; so
Adoni-zedec, king of Jerusalem, sent a message to Hoham, king of
Hebron,[4] Piram, king of Jarmuth,[5] Japhia, king of Lachish,[6] and
4 Debir, king of Eglon,[7] saying: Come to my assistance, and let us
attack Gibeon; it has made peace with Joshua and the Israelites.
5 The five kings of the Amorites, the kings of Jerusalem, Hebron,
Jarmuth, Lachish, and Eglon united, marched with all their hosts,
6 encamped against Gibeon, and besieged it. But the Gibeonites sent
a message to Joshua in camp at Gilgal, saying: Let not thy
hands be slack for thy servants, march hither speedily to our
rescue; all the kings of the Amorites who live in the Hill-country
7 are united against us. Then Joshua marched from Gilgal with
8 all the armed and all the valiant men. JHVH said to Joshua:
Be not afraid of them; I have given them into thy hand: not a
9 man of them shall hold his own against thee. Joshua made a
10 march by night from Gilgal, and came upon them; JHVH discomfited
them in the presence of Israel; so ·Israel· routed them with great
slaughter in Gibeon, and pursued them along the road to the
Ascent of Beth-horon; they went on slaughtering them as far as
11 Azekah[8] and Makkedah.[9] As they were flying[10] before the Israel-
ites, when they were in the Descent of Beth-horon, JHVH cast upon
them great ·hail·stones from the sky, ·until they came· to Azekah,
so that they died; those who were killed by hailstones[11] were
more than those whom the Israelites slaughtered with the sword.



Joshua *To face p. 16*

HEBRON

(See p. 70, l. 17)

Then spoke Joshua to JHVH, on the day when JHVH delivered 12
the Amorites to the Israelites, **and said in the presence of Israel:**

Sun, stand thou still over Gibeon!
And thou, Moon, in the Valley of Ajalon![12]
And the Sun stood still,[13] **and the Moon stayed,** 13
Until the nation had avenged itself on its enemies.

Is it not written in the Book of Jasher?[14] **So the sun stood still**
in the midst of the sky, and delayed to go down almost a whole
day. There was no day like it before or after, when JHVH 14
hearkened to the voice of a man; so that JHVH ‹Himself› fought
for Israel. Then Joshua returned with all Israel to the camp at 15
Gilgal. But those five kings fled, and hid themselves in a cave 16
at Makkedah. When it was told to Joshua that the five kings 17
had been found hidden in a cave at Makkedah, he said: Roll 18
great stones to the mouth of the cave, and station men thereby to
guard them; ye must not stay, but pursue your enemies, and 19
cut off the hindmost of them; suffer them not to enter into
their cities; your God, JHVH, has given them into your hand.
When Joshua and the Israelites had finished killing them with a 20
very great slaughter until they had made an end of them,[a] all 21
the people returned to Joshua, to the camp at Makkedah, in peace:
‹none› ‹so much as› moved his tongue against the Israelites.[16] Then 22
Joshua said: Open the mouth of the cave, and bring me those
five kings therefrom. ‹β›They brought to him out of the cave 23
those five kings: the kings of Jerusalem, Hebron, Jarmuth,
Lachish, and Eglon; and when they brought those kings to Joshua, 24
he called all the Men of Israel, and said to the chiefs of the armed
men who went with him: Draw near, and put your feet upon the
necks of these kings. So they drew near, and put their feet upon
‹the kings'› necks.[17] And Joshua said to them: Be not afraid or 25
dismayed, be strong and firm; thus will JHVH do to all your
enemies against whom ye fight. Then‹γ› Joshua fell upon them, 26
killed them, and hung them upon five trees;[18] they were hanging
upon the trees until the evening. At sunset they took them down 27
from the trees at the command of Joshua, and cast them into
the cave where they had been hidden, and at the mouth of the
cave they placed great stones *‹which there remain› down to this
very day.*

10, 20 [a]and the ○ survivors[15] ‹had› entered the fortified cities

23 [β]and they did so

26 [γ]afterwards

10.28 On that day Joshua took Makkedah, and conquered it, and
put its king to the sword:* he left none surviving, and he did with
the king of Makkedah as he had done with the king of Jericho.
29 Then Joshua and all Israel with him passed on from Makkedah
30 to Libnah,[22] and besieged it. JHVH gave it also, with its king, into
the hand of Israel; they conquered it, and put to the sword all
the persons that were in it; they left none surviving, and they
31 did with its king as they had done with the king of Jericho. Then
Joshua and all Israel with him passed on from Libnah to Lachish,
32 and encamped against it, and besieged it; JHVH gave Lachish into
the hand of Israel, and they took it on the second day, and
conquered it, and put to the sword all the persons that were in
33 it, just as they had done with Libnah. When Horam, king of
Gezer,[23] came to help Lachish, Joshua slaughtered him and
34 all his people, until he left none surviving. Then Joshua passed
on, and all Israel with him, from Lachish to Eglon, and they
35 encamped against it, and besieged it, and took it that same day, and
conquered it, -putting all the inhabitants- to the sword,* just as he
36 had done with Lachish. Then Joshua advanced, and all Israel with
37 him, from Eglon to Hebron, which they besieged and took, and
conquered, -putting- all the persons in it to the sword;* he
left none surviving, just as he had done with Eglon. He
38 'devoted' it and all the persons therein. Then Joshua, and all
39 Israel with him, turned against Debir,[24] which they besieged and
took, with its king and all its cities; they put them to the sword,
'devoting' all the persons therein; he left none surviving; as he
had done with Hebron, so did he with Debir and its king, just as
he had done with Libnah and its king.
40 Joshua massacred -the inhabitants of- the whole land: the Hill-
country, the Negeb,[25] the Lowlands, and the Slopes, with all their
kings, and left none surviving; he 'devoted' every living creature,
41 as the God of Israel, JHVH, had commanded. Joshua slaughtered
them from Kadesh-barnea[26] as far as Gaza,[27] and all the land of
42 Goshen[28] as far as Gibeon; Joshua conquered all those kings and

10,28 *he 'devoted' it and all the persons that were in it

*

35 *and all the persons that were in it he 'devoted' on that day

*

37 *and its king[21] and all its cities



Foshua *To face p. 18*

LAKE ḤÛLE

(See p. 74, l. 26)

their land in a single season; for the God of Israel, JHVH, fought 10
for Israel. Then Joshua, and all Israel with him, returned to the 43
camp at Gilgal.

Defeat of Jabin, King of Hazor, and his Allies.[1]

WHEN Jabin,[2] king of Hazor, heard of it, he sent to Jobab, 11, 1
king of Madon, and to the kings of Shimron and Achshaph,[3]
and to the ‹Northern› kings in the Hill-country, in the Arabah 2
south of Chinneroth, in the Lowlands, and in the Heights of Dor[4]
near the Sea, the Canaanites on the east and west, the Amorites, 3
Hittites, Perizzites, the Jebusites in the Hill-country, and the Hivites[5]
at the foot of the Hermon in the land of Mizp‹e›h.[6] They marched 4
out with all their hosts, a great army as numerous as the sand
upon the seashore, with a great force of horses and chariots. All 5
these kings met, and marched on, and encamped together at the
Waters of Merom[7] to fight against Israel. But JHVH said to 6
Joshua: Be not afraid of them; to-morrow, at about this time,
I will deliver them all up: ‹they shall all lie› slain in sight of
Israel; thou shalt hamstring their horses, and burn their chariots.
When Joshua and all the armed men with him came upon them 7
suddenly at the Waters of Merom, and fell upon them, JHVH gave 8
them into the hand of Israel, and they routed them, and pursued
them to Great Zidon[8] and Misrephoth-maim,[9] and to the valley
of Mizpeh eastward; they slaughtered them until they left none
of them surviving. Joshua did with them as JHVH had said to 9
him: he hamstrung their horses, and burned their chariots.

Then Joshua turned back, and took Hazor, and put its king 10
to the sword (Hazor was formerly the head of all those kingdoms).
They massacred all the persons that were in it, 'devoting' them: 11
no living creature was left, and Hazor was burned. Joshua took 12
all these kings and their cities, and conquered the cities, putting
‹the inhabitants› to the sword, and 'devoting' them, as Moses,
the Servant of JHVH, had commanded. *Yet Israel burnt none of* 13
the cities standing on mounds,[10] *except Hazor; that did Joshua burn.*
All the plunder of these cities, and the cattle, the Israelites took 14
as spoil for themselves; but they put all the men to the sword,
until they had extirpated them: they left no living creature. As 15

11 JHVH had commanded his Servant Moses, so Moses commanded Joshua, and so did Joshua; he neglected nothing of all that JHVH had commanded Moses.

Summary of Joshua's Conquests.

16 JOSHUA took all this land, the Hill-country, all the Negeb, all the land of Goshen, the Lowlands, and the Arabah; and
17 the Hill-country and Lowlands of Israel; from Mount Halak[11] that rises toward Seir, as far as Baal-gad[12] in the valley of Lebanon at the foot of Mount Hermon; and Joshua took all their kings,
18 and fell upon them, and killed them. Joshua made war for a long
19 time with all those kings. No city made peace with the Israelites;
20 they conquered the whole land by force of arms; for[13] the stubborn resistance ·of the Amorites· was inspired by JHVH ·Himself·, in order that they might meet Israel in battle, and be 'devoted' without mercy, extirpated, as JHVH had commanded Moses.

Joshua conquers the Giants.

21 *AT that time Joshua proceeded to extirpate the giants[14] from the Hill-country, from Hebron, Debir, and Anab,[15] from all the Hill-country both of Judah and Israel. Joshua 'devoted' them together*
22 *with their cities. No giants were left in the land of the Israelites; there were remnants of them only in Gaza,[16] Gath,[17] and Ashdod.[18]*

Deuteronomic Conclusion of History of Conquest.

23 JOSHUA took the whole land, just as JHVH had said to Moses, and gave it as an inheritance to Israel, according to their divisions by their tribes. Then the land had rest from war.

List of Conquered Kings.

12, 1 NOW[1] these are the kings of the land, whom the Israelites conquered, and of whose land they took possession: Beyond the Jordan eastward from the valley of the Arnon[2] to Mount
2 Hermon, and all the eastern Arabah:[3] Sihon, king of the Amorites,

11, 19 [a] except the Hivites who dwelt in Gibeon



Joshua

To face p. 20

SEA OF GALILEE

(See p. 75, l. 14)

who reigned in Heshbon, and ruled from Aroer, which is on the 12
edge of the valley of the Arnon, and from the middle of the valley
over half Gilead as far as ‹*›Jabbok,[2] which is the border of the
Ammonites, and over the eastern Arabah; ·northward· to the Sea 3
of Chinneroth,[4] and ·southward· to the Sea of the Arabah,[3] the
Salt Sea, in the direction of Beth-jeshimoth; and on the south
·the border of his territory in the Arabah was· under the Slopes
of Pisgah. And ‹β›Og, king of Bashan, of the remnant of the 4
Rephaim, who reigned at Ashtaroth and at Edrei, and ruled over 5
Mount Hermon, and Salcah, and all Bashan as far as the border
of the Geshurites and the Maachathites, and over half Gilead as
far as the border of Sihon, king of Heshbon. ·These two kings· 6
did Moses, the Servant of JHVH, and the Israelites overthrow;
Moses, the Servant of JHVH, gave ·their land· as a possession to
the Reubenites, and Gadites, and to the half-tribe of Manasseh.

These[5] are the kings of the land, whom Joshua and the Israelites 7
overthrew beyond the Jordan westward from Baal-gad, in the Valley
of the Lebanon, as far as Mount Halak which rises toward Seir;
Joshua gave ·the land· to the tribes of Israel as an inheritance
according to their divisions; in the Hill-country, and in the Lowlands, 8
and in the Arabah, and in the Slopes, and in the Wilderness, and
in the Negeb: the Hittites, Amorites, Canaanites, Perizzites, Hivites,
and Jebusites:

the King of Jericho, one;	the King of Ai, which is beside Beth-el, one;	9
the King of Jerusalem,[6] one;	the King of Hebron, one;	10
the King of Jarmuth, one;	the King of Lachish, one;	11
the King of Eglon, one;	the King of Gezer, one;	12
the King of Debir, one;	the King of Geder,[7] one;	13
the King of Hormah,[8] one;	the King of Arad,[9] one;	14
the King of Libnah, one;	the King of Adullam,[10] one;	15
the King of Makkedah, one;	the King of Beth-el, one;	16
the King of Tappuah,[11] one;	the King of Hepher,[11] one;	17
the King of Aphek,[12] ‹γ›	which is in Sharon,[13] one;	18
the King of Madon, one;	the King of Hazor, one;	19
the King of Shimron-meron, one;[14]	the King of Achshaph, one;	20
the King of Taanach,[15] one;	the King of Megiddo,[16] one;	21

12, 2 *the river 4 βthe territory of 18 γone; the King of

the King of Kedesh[1] one;
the King of Dor in the
the King of Tirzah[2] one;
the King of Jokneam[3] in
the King of the nations[4] in
Thirty-one kings in all.



Division of the Land



Now Joshua was old and well advanced in years, and

Inheritance of the Two Tribes and of the Half-Tribe.

NOW divide this land as an inheritance to the nine tribes * * 13, 7
* * *,[6] and the half-tribe of Manasseh, with which tribe 8
the Reubenites and the Gadites received their inheritance, which
Moses had given them beyond the Jordan eastward (just as Moses,
the Servant of JHVH, had given to them) from Aroer, on the edge 9
of the valley of the Arnon, and ‹from› the city in the middle
of the valley, all the plain of Medeba as far as Dibon, and all 10
the cities of Sihon, king of the Amorites, who reigned in Heshbon,
to the border of the Ammonites; also Gilead, and the territory of 11
the Geshurites and Maachathites, and all Mount Hermon, and all
Bashan as far as Salcah, all the kingdom of Og in Bashan, who 12
reigned in Ashtaroth and in Edrei (he was left of the remnant
of the Rephaim) — those kings did Moses overthrow and dispossess.[7]
But the Israelites did not dispossess the Geshurites and the Maacha- 13
thites; Geshur and Maachath have dwelt in the midst of Israel
down to this day. Only to the tribe of Levi ‹Moses› gave no 14
inheritance: ‹›the God of Israel, JHVH, is their inheritance,[8] as He
had told them.

Heading of Account of Division of Eastern Territory.

‹THESE are the inheritances in the plains of Moab, beyond the
Jordan, opposite Jericho, which Moses gave to the Israelites.›

Inheritance of Reuben.

MOSES gave an inheritance to the tribe of the Reubenites 15
according to their clans. Their territory was from Aroer, 16
on the edge of the valley of the Arnon, and ‹from› the city in
the middle of the valley, including all the plain near Medeba;
Heshbon, and all her cities in the plain: Dibon, Bamoth-baal, 17
Beth-baal-meon, Jahaza, Kedemoth, Mephaath, Kirjathaim, Sibmah, 18. 19
Zareth-shahar on the Mountain of the Valley, Beth-peor, the 20
Slopes of Pisgah, and Beth-jeshimoth; also all the cities of the 21
plain and all the kingdom of Sihon, king of the Amorites, who
reigned in Heshbon, *whom Moses had slaughtered with the princes*
of Midian,[9] *Evi, Rekem, Zur, Hur, and Reba, Sihon's chiefs, who*
dwelt in the land, — the Israelites also put to the sword, among 22
those whom they slaughtered, the diviner Balaam ben-Beor.[10] The 23

13, 14 ‹offerings made by fire of

13 line of the Jordan was the ‹western› border of the Reubenites.
This is the inheritance of the Reubenites according to their clans,
the cities, and the villages belonging thereto.

Inheritance of Gad.

24 MOSES had given ‹an inheritance› to the tribe of Gad, to the
25 Gadites according to their clans. Their territory was Jazer,
and all the cities of Gilead, and half the land of the Ammonites,
26 as far as Aroer east of Rabbah; and from Heshbon as far as
Ramath-mizpeh and Betonim; and from Mahanaim to the border
27 of Lidebir;[11] and in the valley: Beth-aram, Beth-nimrah, Succoth,
and Zaphon, the remainder of the kingdom of Sihon, king of
Heshbon; the line of the Jordan ‹was their border› to the ‹south-
28 ern› end of the sea of Chinnereth beyond the Jordan eastward. This
is the inheritance of the Gadites according to their clans, the cities,
and the villages belonging thereto.

Inheritance of Eastern Manasseh.

29 MOSES had given ‹an inheritance› to the half-tribe of Manasseh,[12]
it was for the half-tribe of the Manassites according to their
30 clans; their territory was from Mahanaim, all Bashan, all the
kingdom of Og, king of Bashan, all the towns of Jair, in Bashan,
31 sixty cities; half of Gilead,[13] and Ashtaroth and Edrei, the ‹capital›
cities of the kingdom of Og in Bashan.[a]

Conclusion of Account of Division of Eastern Territory.

32 THESE are the inheritances which Moses had given in the
plains of Moab, beyond the Jordan eastward, opposite Jericho‹b›.

13, 31 [a]to the Sons of Machir ben-Manasseh; to one-half of the Sons of Machir,
according to their clans[14]

*

33 [b]but to the tribe of Levi, Moses had given no inheritance; the God of Israel,
JHVH, is their inheritance as He had told them

Heading of Account of Division of Western Territory.[1]

THESE are the inheritances received by the Israelites in the land of Canaan which the priest Eleazar and Joshua ben-Nun and the heads of the families of the Israelites gave them | by lot, ‹as› their inheritance, as JHVH had commanded, through Moses, for the nine tribes and the half-tribe. Moses had given the inheritance of the two tribes and of the half-tribe beyond the Jordan, but to the Levites he had given no inheritance among them. The Sons of Joseph were two tribes, Manasseh and Ephraim, and they gave no portion of the land to the Levites, except cities to dwell in, and the pasture-lands belonging thereto for their cattle and their substance. The Israelites did as JHVH had commanded Moses, and divided the land. 14,1 2 3 4 5

Inheritance of Caleb.

THE Judahites[2] approached Joshua in Gilgal, and the Kenezite[3] Caleb ben-Jephunneh said to him: Thou knowest the word that JHVH spoke to Moses, the Man of God, on my behalf, *and on thy behalf*, in Kadesh-barnea. I was forty years old when Moses, the Servant of JHVH, sent me from Kadesh-barnea to spy out the land, and I brought him back word to the best of my knowledge; but my companions who went with me made the heart of the people tremble, while I wholly followed my God, JHVH. Moses swore on that day: Verily, the land wherever thy feet have trodden shall be an inheritance for thee and thy children for ever, because thou hast wholly followed my God, JHVH. Now JHVH has kept me alive, as He said, for forty-five[4] years, from the time when JHVH spoke this word to Moses, while Israel journeyed in the Wilderness; and now I am this day eighty-five years old. I am still as strong to-day as on the day when Moses sent me: as was my strength then, so is my strength now, for war and all manner of work;[5] so give me now the hill-country here, whereof JHVH spoke on that day; thou heardest on that day that the giants[7] were there in great walled cities; perhaps JHVH will be with me, so that I shall dispossess them, as JHVH said. Then Joshua blessed him, and gave Hebron as an inheritance to Caleb ben-Jephunneh. Thus Hebron[6] became the inheritance of the Kenezite, Caleb ben-Jephunneh, ‹and so remains› down to this day, because he wholly followed the God of Israel, JHVH. (The name of Hebron was formerly Kirjath-arba; he, ‹Arba›, was the greatest among the giants.)[7] Then the land had rest from war. 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15

Inheritance of Judah.

15, 1 THE lot for the tribe of the Judahites according to their clans
was toward the border of Edom, southward to the Wilder-
2 ness of Zin, at the extreme south. Their southern border was
from the end of the Salt Sea, from the bay that runs southward;[1]
3 it began about the south of the Ascent of Acrabbim, and went on
to Zin, and went up southward of Kadesh-barnea, and went on to
4 Hezron, and went up to Adar, and turned about to Karkaa, and
it went on to Azmon, and ended at the Brook of Egypt,[1] so that
the end of the border was at the sea. This shall be your southern
5 border. The eastern border was the Salt Sea as far as the mouth
of the Jordan. Their border on the north side was from the bay
6 of the sea at the mouth of the Jordan, and the border went up
to Beth-hogla, and went on to the north of Beth-arabah, and the
7 border went up to the Stone of Bohan ben-Reuben; and the border
went up to Debir[2] from the valley of Achor and northward in
the direction of Gilgal,[3] opposite the Ascent of Adummim, south
of The Brook;[4] and the border went on to the Waters of En-
8 shemesh, and came to a point[5] at En-rogel; and the border went
up through the Valley of Ben-Hinnom to the south of the ridge
of the Jebusites (that is, Jerusalem); and the border went up to the
top of the mountain which lies to the west of the Valley of Hinnom
9 and at the northern end of the Valley of Rephaim; and the border
inclined from the top of the mountain to the fountain of the Waters
of Nephtoah and came to a point at the cities of Mount Ephron,
10 and the border inclined to Baalah (that is, Kirjath-jearim);[6] and the
border turned about from Baalah westward to Mount Seir,[7] and
went on to the north of the ridge of Mount Jearim (that is,
Chesalon), and went down to Beth-shemesh,[8] and went on to Tim-
11 nah; and the border came to a point at the ridge of Ekron on the
north, and the border inclined to Shicron, and went on to Mount
Baalah, and ended by Jabneel, so that the end of the border was
12 at the sea. The western border was the coast-line of the Great
Sea. This was the border of the Judahites round about according
to their clans.

13 *To Caleb ben-Jephunneh he gave a portion in the midst of the*
Judahites according to the commandment of JHVH to Joshua, namely
14 *Kirjath-arba (Arba the father of Anak), that is, Hebron.* Thence[9]
Caleb dispossessed the three giants: Sheshai, Ahiman, and Talmai,
15 the sons of Anak. Thence he went up against the inhabitants of
16 Debir (the older name of Debir was Kirjath-sepher).[10] And Caleb

said: I will give my daughter Achsah in marriage to the man who 15
attacks Kirjath-sepher, and takes it. Caleb's brother, Othniel ben- 17
Kenaz,[11] took it, and ‹Caleb› gave him his daughter Achsah in
marriage. When she came to him ‹she incited h›er‹ to ask her 18
father for a piece of land. So she leaped down from her ass,
and when her father asked: What is the matter? she answered: 19
Give me a present; thou hast put me off into the Negeb, there-
fore give me Gull‹a›th-maim. So Caleb gave her Gull‹a›th-illi‹th
and Gull‹a›th-tahti‹th.

This is the inheritance of the tribe of the Judahites according 20
to their clans:

The ‹southern› border towns of the tribe of Judah in the Ne- 21
geb[12] toward the territory of Edom were Kabzeel, Eder, Jagur,
Kinah, Dimonah, A‹r›a‹r›ah,[13] Kedesh, Hazor, Ithnan, Ziph, Telem, 22-24
Bealoth, Hazor-hadattah,[14] Kerioth-hezron (that is, Hazor),[15] Amam, 25.26
Shema, Moladah, Hazar-gaddah, Heshmon, Beth-palet, Hazar-shual, 27.28
Beer-sheba and ‹its dependent towns›,[16] Baalah, Iim, Azem, Eltolad, 29.30
‹Bethu›l,[17] Hormah, Ziklag, Madmannah, Sansannah, Lebaoth, Shil- 31.32
him, ‹En›‹›‹rimmon;[18]—twenty-nine[19] cities with the villages belong-
ing thereto.

In the Lowlands:[20] Eshtaol, Zoreah,[21] Ashnah, Zanoah, En- 33.34
gannim, Tappuah, Enam, Jarmuth, Adullam, Socoh, Azekah, 35
Sharaim, Adithaim, Gederah and Gederothaim;—fourteen[22] cities 36
with the villages belonging to them. ‹Also› Zenan, Hadashah, 37
Migdal-gad, Dilean, Mizpeh, Joktheel; Lachish, Bozkath, Eglon, 38.39
Cabbon, Lahma‹m›,[23] Kithlish, Gederoth; Beth-dagon, Naamah, and 40.41
Makkedah;—sixteen cities with the villages belonging to them;
‹furthermore› Libnah, Ether,[24] Ashan, Jiphtah, Ashnah, Nezib, 42.43
Keilah, Achzib, Mareshah;—nine cities with the villages belonging 44
thereto.

Ekron and its dependent towns and villages, from Ekron to 45.46
the sea, all ‹the towns› that lay on the side of Ashdod with the
villages belonging thereto. Ashdod and Gaza and their dependent 47
towns and villages to the Brook of Egypt. The ‹western› border[25]
was the ‹coast-line of› the ‹Great› Sea.

In the Hill-country: Shamir, Jattir, Socoh, Dannah, Kirjath- 48.49
sannah (that is, Debir), Anab, Eshtemoh, Anim, Goshen, Holon, 50.51
Giloh;—eleven cities with the villages belonging to them; ‹also› 52
Arab, Dumah, Eshean, Janum, Beth-tappuah, Aphekah, Humtah, 53.54
Kirjath-arba (that is, Hebron), and Zior; nine cities with the villages
belonging to them; Maon, Carmel, Ziph, Juttah, Jezreel, Jokdeam, 55.56

15, 57 Zanoah, Cain, Gibeah, Timnah; — ten cities with the villages belong-
58. 59 ing to them; Halhul, Beth-zur, Gedor, Maarath, Beth-anoth, and
Eltekon; — six cities with the villages belonging to them. ‹Tekoa,[26]
Ephrath (that is, Bethlehem), Peor, Etam, ›Kolon, Tatam, Sores‹,
Kerem, Gallim, Bether, Manahath; — eleven cities with the villages
60 belonging to them›. Kirjath-baal (that is, Kirjath-jearim) and Rab-
bah, — two cities with the villages belonging to them.
61. 62 In the Wilderness: Beth-arabah, Middin, Secacah, Nibshan, the
City of Salt, and En-gedi; — six cities with the villages belonging
to them.
63 **But the Judahites could not dispossess the Jebusites who inhabited Jerusalem; the Jebusites live with the Judahites in Jerusalem to the present day.[27]**

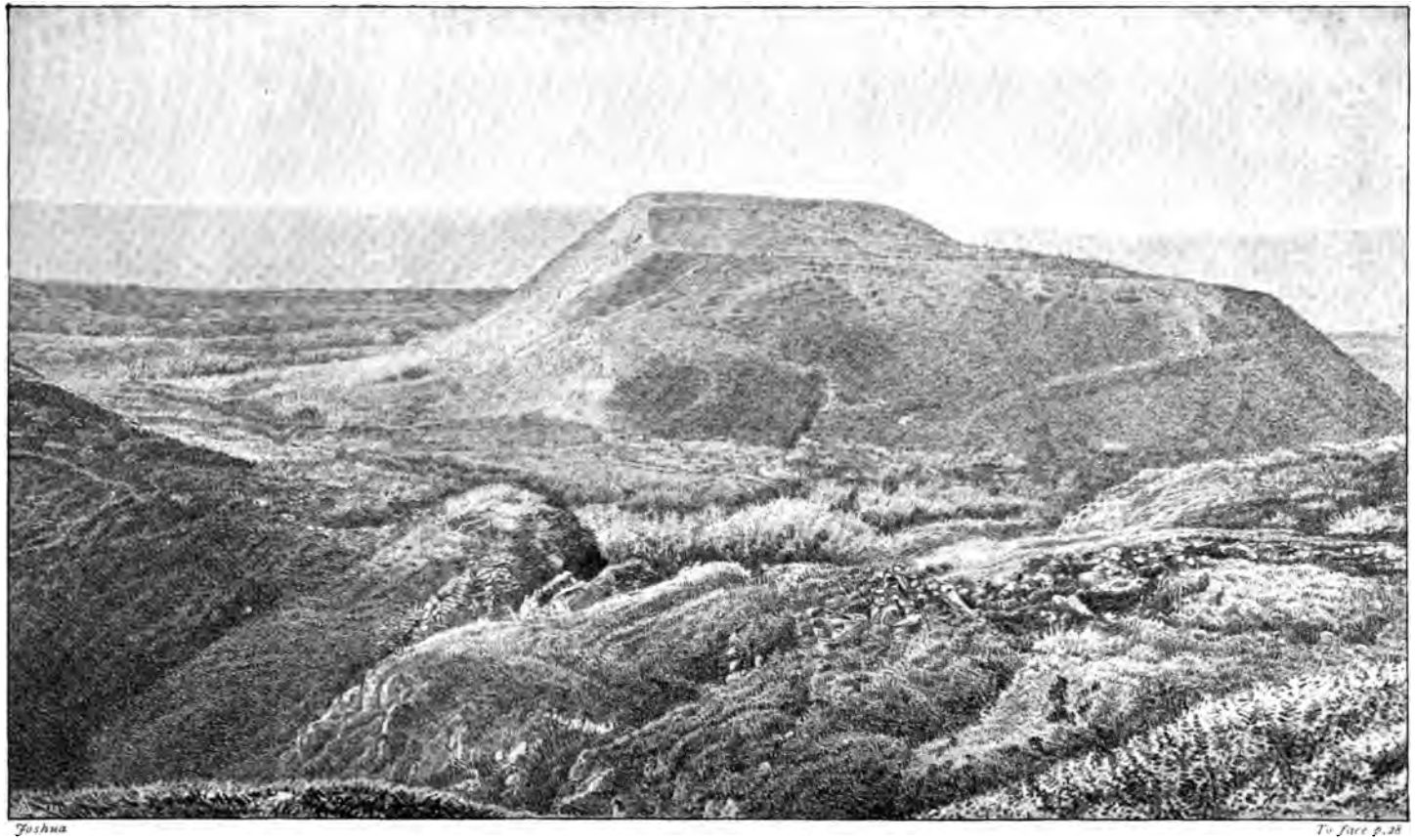
Inheritance of the Josephites.

16, 1 THE border[1] of the Josephites was from the Jordan near Jericho to the east of the Waters of Jericho,[2] near the Wilderness that extends from Jericho through the Hill-country to Beth-
2 el ‹[*]›, and it came to a point at Beth-el [], and went on to the
3 border of the Archites at Ataroth, and came down westward to the border of the Japhletites,[3] to the border of Lower Beth-horon
4 and to Gezer, and came to an end at the sea. So the Josephites, Manasseh and Ephraim, received their inheritance.

Inheritance of the Ephraimites.

5 THE territory of the Ephraimites according to their clans was[3]
* * * * *, and the ›southern‹ border of their inheritance
6 was ›from‹ Ataroth-addar on the east to Upper Beth-horon, and the border ended at the sea. The northernmost point was Mich-
methah, and the border turned about eastward to Taanath-shiloh, and
7 went on to . . . * * *[4] eastward of Janohah, and went down from Janohah to Ataroth and to Naarath, and touched ›the territory
8 of‹ Jericho, and ended at the Jordan. Westward the ›northern‹ border went from Tappuah to the Brook Kanah,[5] and came to

16, 2 *Luz



Joshua

To face p. 28

BETH-SHEAN

(See p. 84, l. 7)

an end at the sea. This is the inheritance of the tribe of the 16
Ephraimites, according to their clans, ·together· **with the cities that** 9
were set aside for the Ephraimites in the midst of the inheritance of the Manassites,—all the cities with the villages belonging there-
to. **They did not dispossess**[6] **the Canaanites who dwelt in Gezer;** 10
the Canaanites have dwelt in the midst of Ephraim down to this day, but ·the Canaanites· had to labor for them.

Inheritance of the Tribe of Manasseh.

THE tribe of Manasseh had its lot; ·Manasseh· was the firstborn 17,1
of Joseph. **Machir, the firstborn of Manasseh, the father of** 2
Gilead, had Gilead and Bashan, because he was warlike. The rest of the Manassites had ·their lot· *according to their clans*, **the Abi-ezrites, Helekites, Asrielites, Shechemites, Hepherites, and Shemidites.**[1] **These were the** *male* **Manassites** *according to their clans.*

Zelophehad[2] ben-Hepher ben-Gilead ben-Machir ben-Manasseh 3
had no sons but only daughters. These are the names of his daughters: Mahlah, Noah, Hoglah, Milcah, and Tirzah. They went 4
to the priest Eleazar and Joshua ben-Nun and the Princes, and said: JHVH commanded Moses that an inheritance should be given us among our fellow-tribesmen; and according to the commandment of JHVH he gave them an inheritance among their father's fellow-tribesmen.

The portions that fell to Manasseh were ten,[3] *apart from the* 5
land of Gilead and Bashan beyond the Jordan (the daughters of 6
Manasseh received an inheritance among his sons, and the rest of the Manassites had the land of Gilead). The ·southern· border of 7
Manasseh was from Asher to Michmethah, which is east of Shechem, and the border went southward to the ·land of the· inhabitants of En-tappuah. **Manasseh had the land of Tappuah, but the** 8
Ephraimites had Tappuah on the border of Manasseh. The border 9
went down to the Brook of Kanah to the southern side of the brook * * * *[4] **Ephraim had these cities in the midst of the cities of Manasseh** * * * * The border of Manasseh was along the northern bank of The Brook, and it came to an end at the sea. Ephraim had ·the land· to the south, and Manasseh to the north. 10
The ·western· border ·of Manasseh· was the sea; they[5] touched Asher on the north, and Issachar on the east. **But Manasseh had** 11
in Issachar and in Asher ·[the three heights[6] **| but Manasseh did not conquer ·] Beth-shean**[7] **with the villages belonging thereto, nor**

17 Ibleam and its villages, nor the inhabitants of Dor,ᵃ nor of Taa-
12 nach, nor of Megiddo, with their villages []; for the Canaanites
13 maintained themselves resolutely in that region. But when Israel
became strong they subjected the Canaanites to forced labor, but
did not dispossess them.[9]

Extra Lot for the Josephites.[10]

14 THE House[11] of Joseph said to Joshua: Why hast thou
given us ‹but› one lot as an inheritance[ᵇ] although we are a
15 great people, seeing that hitherto JHVH has blessed us? Joshua said
to them: If ye are a great people, go up into the Forest,[12] and
hew out ‹room enough› for yourselves there,ᶜ if the Hill-country
16 of Ephraim is too narrow for you. The ‹House› of Joseph said:
The Hill-country is not enough for us, but all the Canaanites who
inhabit the land of the Valley have chariots of iron,[14] both those
who are in Beth-shean[7] and its dependent towns and those who
17 are in the Valley of Jezreel.[15] Joshua said to the House of Joseph:[ᵈ]
Ye are a great people, and have great strength; ye shall not have
18 one lot only,[16] but ye shall have the Hill-country[17] ‹of Gilead›
though it ‹also› is forest; ye will hew it down, and it shall be
yours;ᵉ but ye must dispossess the Canaanites, though they have
iron chariots,[14] and are strong.

Seven Tribes receive their Inheritance.

18, 1 THE whole Congregation of the Israelites gathered together
at Shiloh,[1] and there they established the Tent of Meeting, the
2 land having been subdued by them. ***There were left of the***
Israelites seven tribes, to whom their inheritance had not been apportioned.
3 ***Therefore Joshua said to the Israelites***: How long will ye delay to
go in and take possession of the land, which the God of your

17, 11 ᵃand the inhabitants of Endor[8] with the villages belonging thereto

14 ᵇand one portion 15 ᶜin the land of the Perizzites and the Rephaim[13]

17 ᵈto Ephraim and Manasseh, saying 18 ᵉand its outlying districts



SHILOH

fathers, JHVH, has given you? *Take three men for each tribe, ‹*[a]*› let* 18, 4
them set out, and go through the land, and map it out[a] *into suitable*
inheritances ‹for› their ‹tribes›, then come back to me. They may divide 5
it into seven portions. Judah may remain in its territory in the south,
and the House of Joseph may remain in their territory in the north.
Map out[a] *the land into seven portions, and bring back ‹your report›* 6
hither to me, then I will cast lots for you here in the presence of
our God, JHVH. The Levites have no portion among you: the 7
priesthood of JHVH is their inheritance; but Gad, and Reuben, and
the half-tribe of Manasseh received their inheritance beyond the
Jordan eastward, which Moses, the Servant of JHVH, had given to
them. *The men set out, and went, and Joshua said to those who* 8
went to map out the land: Go, pass through the land, map it out;
then return to me, here will I cast lots for you in Shiloh. The men 9
went, and passed through the land, and mapped it out by cities in seven
portions on a scroll,[3] *and they ‹brought› ‹back their report› to Joshua*
in camp at Shiloh. Then Joshua cast lots for them in Shiloh in 10
the presence of JHVH, and there divided the land for the Israelites
according to their divisions.

Inheritance of Benjamin.

WHEN the lot of the tribe of the Benjamites came out accord- 11
ing to their clans, the territory allotted to them was to lie
between the Judahites and the Josephites. Their border on the 12
north side was from the Jordan, and went up to the ridge northward
of Jericho and up through the Hill-country westward, passing into
the Wilderness of Beth-aven; thence the border went on to Luz, 13
to the south of the ridge of Luz (that is, Beth-el); then the border
went down to Ataroth-adar near the mountain south of Lower
Beth-horon. The border inclined, and turned about on the western 14
side southward from the mountain in the south opposite Beth-horon,
and came to a point at Kirjath-baal (that is, Kirjath-jearim), a city
of the Judahites. This was the western side. The southern side[4] was 15
from the end of Kirjath-‹baal›,[5] and the border came to a point
‹at Mount Ephron›[6] and at the Fountain of the Waters of Nephtoah;
and the border went down to the end of the mountain east of 16
the Valley of Ben-Hinnom, at the northern ‹end of the› Valley of
Rephaim,[7] and went down through the Valley of Hinnom, to the
south of the ridge of the Jebusites, and went down to En-rogel,

18, 4 [a]and I will send them

18,17 and inclined northward, and came to a point at En-shemesh, and
passed into the regions opposite the Ascent of Adummim, and went
18 down to the Stone of Bohan ben-Reuben, and went on to the ridge
along the north of the Arabah, and went down to the Arabah;
19 and the border went on to the north of the ridge of Beth-
hoglah, and[a] came to an end at the northern bay of the Salt Sea,
at the southern end of the Jordan. This was the southern border.
20 The Jordan bordered it on the eastern side. This is the inheritance
of the Benjamites according to its borders round about, according
21 to their clans: The cities of the tribe of Benjamin according to
22 their clans were Jericho, Beth-hoglah, Emek-keziz, Beth-arabah,[8]
23.24 Zemaraim, Beth-el, Avim, Parah, Ophrah, Chephar-haammonai,
Ophni, and Gaba;—twelve cities with the villages belonging to
25–27 them. Gibeon, Ramah, Beeroth, Mizpeh, Chephirah, Mozah, Rekem,
28 Irpeel, Taralah, Zelah, Eleph, the ‹city of the› Jebusites (that is,
Jerusalem), Gibeath, and Kirjath-‹jearim›;—fourteen cities with the
villages belonging to them. This is the inheritance of the Benja-
mites according to their clans.

Inheritance of Simeon.[1]

19,1 THE second lot fell **to Simeon,** to the tribe of the Simeonites
according to their clans; their inheritance was in the midst
2 of the inheritance of the Judahites. They had in their inheritance:
3.4 Beer-sheba, Sheba, Molahah, Hazar-shual, Balah, Azem, Eltolad,
5.6 Bethul, Hormah, Ziklag, Beth-marcaboth, Hazar-susah, Beth-lebaoth,
and Sharuhen;[2]—thirteen[3] cities with the villages belonging to
7 them; ‹En-›rimmon,[4] ‹Tochen›,[5] Ether, and Ashan;—four cities with
8 the villages belonging to them; also all the villages that were round
about these cities down to Baalath-beer and Ramah of the South.
This is the inheritance of the tribe of the Simeonites according to
9 their clans. **Out of the portion of the Judahites was the inherit-
ance of the Simeonites; the share of the Judahites was too great
for them, therefore the Simeonites received an inheritance in the
midst of their inheritance.**

Inheritance of Zebulun.

10 THE third lot fell to the Zebulunites according to their clans;
the border of their inheritance stretched as far as Sarid;[6]
11 and their border[7] went up westward to Maralah, and touched

18,19 [a] the border

Dabbasheth, and touched the brook which is east of Jokneam, 19
and [8]turned from Sarid eastward toward the sun-rising to the 12
border of Chisloth-tabor, and came to a point at Daberath, and
went up to Japhia; thence it[9] went on eastward toward the sun- 13
rising to Gath-hepher and Eth-kazin,[9] and came to a point ‹at›
Rimmon, ‹and› inclined[10] to Neah; and the border[11] turned 14
about it on the north ‹of›[12] Hannathon, and came to an end at
the Valley of Jiphthah-el * * * * * * Kattath, Nahallal, 15
Shimron, Idalah, and Beth-lehem; — twelve[13] cities with the villages
belonging thereto. This is the inheritance of the Zebulunites 16
according to their clans; those cities with the villages belonging
thereto.

Inheritance of Issachar.[14]

FOR **Issachar.** The fourth lot came out for the Issacharites 17
according to their clans; their territory was ‹›[15] Jezreel, Chesul- 18
loth, Shunem, Haphraim, Shihon, Anaharath, Rabbith, Kishion, 19. 20
Abez, Remeth, En-gannim, En-haddah, Beth-pazzez. The border 21. 22
touched Tabor, Shahazimah, and Beth-shemesh, and their border
came to an end at the Jordan; — sixteen cities with the villages
belonging to them. This is the inheritance of the tribe of the 23
Issacharites according to their clans; those cities with the villages
belonging thereto.

Inheritance of Asher.[16]

THE fifth lot fell to the tribe of the Asherites according to 24
their clans. Their territory was Helkath, Hali, Beten, Ach- 25
shaph, Alammelech, Amad, Misheal. ›The border‹ touched Carmel 26
on the west and Shihor-libnath, and turned toward the sun-rising 27
to Beth-dagon, and touched Zebulun and the Valley of Jiphthah-el
on the north * * * Beth-emek and Neiel * * *, and ›going‹
northward came to a point at Cabul * * * ›A-b-d-on,[17] Rehob, 28
Hammon, Kanah * * * ›and went on‹ as far as Great Zidon;
then the border turned to Ramah and to the fortified city of Tyre; 29
then the border turned to Hosah, and came to an end at the sea
* * * * ‹Mehalleb›,[18] Achzib * * * ›Accho‹,[19] Aphek, 30
and Rehob; — twenty-two[20] cities with the villages belonging to
them. This[21] is the inheritance of the tribe of the Asherites 31
according to their clans; those cities with the villages belonging
thereto.

Inheritance of Naphtali.[22]

19,32 FOR the Naphtalites. The sixth lot fell to the Naphtalites
33 according to their clans. Their border was from Heleph, from
the Bazaan-im Tree[23] (and Adami-nekeb and Jabneel) to Lakum, and
34 it came to an end at the Jordan. The border turned westward
to Aznoth-tabor, and ‹going on› thence came to a point at Hukkok,
and touched Zebulun on the south, and Asher on the west.ᵃ‹ᵝ›ᵞ
35 The fortified[25] cities were Ziddim,[26] Zer, Hammath, Rakkath, Chinne-
36-38 reth, Adamah, Ramah, Hazor, Kedesh, Edrei, En-hazor, Iron,
Migdal-el, Horem, Beth-anath, Beth-shemesh; — nineteen[27] cities
39 with the villages belonging to them. This is the inheritance of
the tribe of the Naphtalites according to their clans; those cities
with the villages belonging thereto.

Inheritance of Dan.[28]

40 THE seventh lot fell to the tribe of the Danites according to
41 their clans. The territory of their inheritance was Zorah,[29]
42.43 Eshtaol,[29] Ir-shemesh, Shaalabbin, Ajalon, Jethlah, Elon, Thimnathah,
44.45 Ekron,[29] Eltekeh, Gibbethon, Baalath, Jehud, Bene-berak, Gath-rim-
46.47 mon, and Me-jarkon ‹›[30] with the territory opposite Japho. **The
territory[31] of the Danites was ‹too narrow›[32] for them; therefore the
Danites marched out, attacked Lesh-a-m,[33] took it, conquered it,
‹putting the inhabitants› to the sword, took possession of it, and
settled in it, calling Lesh-a-m: Dan, after the name of their ancestor**
48 **Dan.** This is the inheritance of the tribe of the Danites according
to their families; those cities with the villages belonging thereto.

Inheritance of Joshua.

49 WHEN they had finished giving the land as an inheritance
according to its borders, the Israelites gave an inheritance
50 among them to Joshua ben-Nun; according to the command of
JHVH, they gave him the city for which he asked: Timnath-serah[34]
in the Hill-country of Ephraim; he built the city, and settled in it.

Conclusion of Account of Division.

51 THOSE are the inheritances which the priest Eleazar, and
Joshua ben-Nun, and the heads of the families of the tribes
of the Israelites gave as an inheritance by lot in Shiloh, in the
presence of JHVH, at the door of the Tent of Meeting, thus com-
pletely dividing up the land.

19,34 ᵃand to ᵝJudah[24] ᵞat the Jordan toward the sun-rising

Cities of Refuge.[1]

THEN JHVH spoke thus to Joshua: Command the Israelites as 20,1.2
follows: Appoint for yourselves the cities of refuge, of which I
spoke to you through Moses, that the homicide who kills any one 3
by accident<α>[2] may flee thither, and that they may be a refuge
for you from the avenger of blood<β>[2] until he come up before 6b
the Congregation for judgment<γ>.[2] So they dedicated[3] Kedesh in 7
Galilee, in the Hill-country of Naphtali; Shechem, in the Hill-
country of Ephraim, and Kirjath-arba (that is, Hebron) in the Hill-
country of Judah; and beyond the Jordan<δ> they appointed Bezer 8
in the Wilderness, in the plain, of the tribe of Reuben; Ramoth
in Gilead, of the tribe of Gad; Golan in Bashan, of the tribe of
Manasseh. These were the cities appointed for all the Israelites 9
and for the strangers sojourning among them, that whosoever killed
any one by accident might flee thither, and should not die by the
hand of the avenger of blood, until he appeared before the Con-
gregation.

Levitical Cities.[1]

THEN the heads of the families of the Levites approached the 21,1
priest Eleazar, and Joshua ben-Nun, and the heads of the
families of the tribes of the Israelites, and spoke to them at Shiloh 2
in the land of Canaan as follows: JHVH commanded through
Moses that cities should be given us to live in, and the pasture-
lands belonging to them for our cattle. Then the Israelites gave 3
to the Levites, at the command of JHVH, out of their inheritance
these cities and the pasture-land belonging thereto. The lot came 4
out for the clans of the Kohathites: the Sons of Aaron, the
Priest, +who were+ of the Levites, had by lot thirteen[2] cities of the
tribes of Judah, of the Simeonites, and of Benjamin. The rest of 5

20,3 α inadvertently

*

4 β he shall flee to one of those cities, and shall stand at the door of the gate of the city, and shall state his case before the Elders of that city, and they shall admit him into the city, and give him a place that he may live with them.
5 When the avenger of blood pursues him, they shall not deliver the homicide into his hand; for he killed his neighbor inadvertently, and not with malice
6a aforethought; he shall live in that city

*

6 γ until the death of the reigning High-Priest, then the homicide may again enter his city and his house, in the city whence he fled

*

8 δ at Jericho eastward

21 the Kohathites had by lot ·according to their· clans[3] ten cities
·of· the tribes of Ephraim and Dan and of the half-tribe of
6 Manasseh. The Gershonites had by lot ·according to their·
clans[3] thirteen cities ‹of› the tribes of Issachar, Asher, and Naphtali,
7 and of the half-tribe of Manasseh in Bashan. The Merarites had
according to their clans twelve cities of the tribes of Reuben, Gad,
8 and Zebulun. The Israelites gave by lot to the Levites these
cities and the pasture-lands belonging thereto, as JHVH had com-
9 manded through Moses. Of the tribes of the Judahites and Simeon-
10 ites they gave these cities which are mentioned by name. The
Aaronites of the clans of the Kohathites of the Levites had
11 (for theirs was the first lot) * * * * * * * *and they gave*
them Kirjath-arba (·Arba· the father of Anak), that is, Hebron in the
12 *Hill-country of Judah, and the pasture-lands round about it, but the*
fields of the city and the villages belonging thereto they gave to Caleb
13 *ben-Jephunneh as his possession.* To the Sons of Aaron, the Priest,
they gave Hebron, the city of refuge for the homicide, Libnah,
14-16 Jattir, Eshtemoa, Holon, Debir, A·sha·n,[4] Juttah, Beth-shemesh,
with the pasture-lands belonging thereto; — nine cities *of these two*
17.18 *tribes*; and of the tribe of Benjamin: Gibeon, Geba, Anathoth,
Almon,[5] with the pasture-lands belonging thereto; — four cities.
19 All the cities of the priests, the Aaronites, were thirteen cities
with the pasture-lands belonging thereto.

20 The clans of the Kohathites, the Levites, the rest of the
21 Kohathites, had the cities of their lot from the tribe of Ephraim; and
they gave them Shechem, the city of refuge for the homicide in
22 the Hill-country of Ephraim, Gezer, Kibzaim, Beth-horon, with the
23 pasture-lands belonging thereto; — four cities. Of the tribe of Dan:
24 Eltekeh, Gibbethon, Ajalon, Gath-rimmon, with the pasture-lands
25 belonging thereto; — four cities. Of the half-tribe of Manasseh:
Ṭaanach[6] and ·Ibleam·,[7] with the pasture-lands belonging thereto;
26 — two cities. In all, ten cities with the pasture-lands belonging
27 thereto for the remaining clans of the Kohathites. The Ger-
shonites, of the clans of the Levites, had of the half-tribe of
Manasseh: Golan, the city of refuge for the homicide, and Beesh-
28 terah, with the pasture-lands belonging thereto; — two cities. Out
29 of the tribe of Issachar: Kishon, Dabareh, Jarmuth, En-gannim,
30 with the pasture-lands belonging thereto; — four cities. Out of
31 the tribe of Asher: Mishal, Abdon, Helkath, Rehob, with the
32 pasture-lands belonging thereto; — four cities. And out of the
tribe of Naphtali: Kedesh in Galilee, the city of refuge for the

homicide, Hammoth-dor, Kartan, with the pasture-lands belonging thereto; — three cities. All the cities of the Gershonites, according to their clans, were thirteen cities with the pasture-lands belonging thereto. 21 33

The rest of the Levites, the clans of the Merarites had of the tribe of Zebulun: Jokneam, Kartah, Rimmonah,[8] Nahalal, with the pasture-lands belonging thereto; — four cities. Of the tribe of Reuben: Bezer, in the Wilderness, the city of refuge for the homicide, Jahazah, Kedemoth, Mephaath, with the pasture-lands belonging thereto; — four cities.[9] Of the tribe of Gad: Ramoth in Gilead, the city of refuge for the homicide, Mahanaim, Heshbon, Jazer, with the pasture-lands belonging thereto; — in all four cities. These are all the cities that were given according to their clans to the Merarites who remained of the clans of the Levites; their lot was twelve cities. All the cities of the Levites within the possession of the Israelites were forty-eight cities with the pasture-lands belonging thereto. Each of those cities had pasture-lands about it; so it was for all those cities. 34 35 36 37 38 39 40 41 42

Concluding Summary.

JHVH gave to Israel all the land which He had sworn to give to their fathers; they took possession of it, and settled in it. 43

JHVH gave them rest round about, just as He had sworn to their fathers; of all their enemies not a man was able to hold his own against them: JHVH gave all their enemies into their hand. 44

Nothing failed of all good things that JHVH had promised to the House of Israel; everything was fulfilled. 45

Return of the Two Tribes and of the Half-tribe.[1]

THEN Joshua called the Reubenites, and the Gadites, and the half-*tribe* of Manasseh, and said to them: Ye have kept all 22,1 2

that Moses, the Servant of JHVH, commanded you, and ye have hearkened to my voice in all that I have commanded you; ye have not abandoned your brethren all this time until this day, and ye have been careful to observe the commandment of your God, JHVH. 3

Your God, JHVH, has now given rest to your brethren, as He said 4

22 to them; depart then, and go to your tents, to the land *of
your possession, which Moses, the Servant of JHVH, gave you,
5 beyond the Jordan. Only be exceedingly careful to observe the
commandment and the Law, which Moses, the Servant of JHVH,
commanded you, to love your God, JHVH, and to follow all His 5
ways, and keep His commandments, and cleave to Him, and to
6 serve Him with all your heart, and with all your soul. Then
Joshua blessed them, and sent them away; and they went to their
tents.

7 *To the half-tribe of Manassch Moses had given ·an inheritance· 10
*in Bashan; to the ·other· half Joshua gave ·an inheritance· with their
brethren beyond the Jordan westward.

8 ○ *When Joshua sent them away to their tents and blessed them ○
*‹they› return‹ed›[2] to ‹thei›r[2] tents with much wealth and very much
*cattle, silver and gold, bronze and iron, and great abundance of 15
*raiment, and divide‹d›[2] the spoil of ‹thei›r[2] enemies with ‹thei›r[2]
brethren.

Altar of the Two Tribes and of the Half-tribe.[3]

9 THE Reubenites, and the Gadites, *and the half-tribe of Manassch*
returned, and departed from the Israelites from Shiloh,[4] in the 20
land of Canaan, to go to the land of Gilead, the land of their
possession, whereof they had been given possession according to
10 JHVH's commandment through Moses. When they came to the
regions of the Jordan, *in the land of Canaan*, the Reubenites, and
the Gadites, *and the half-tribe of Manassch* built there an altar 25
11 near the Jordan, a great, conspicuous altar. Word was brought
to the Israelites: Behold the Reubenites, and the Gadites, *and
the half-tribe of Manassch have built an altar opposite[5] the land of
Canaan in the regions of the Jordan beyond the land of the
12 Israelites. When the Israelites heard ·that·, the whole Congregation 30
of the Israelites gathered themselves together at Shiloh to march
13 against them. The Israelites sent to the Reubenites, and to the
Gadites, *and to the half-tribe of Manassch*, to the land of Gilead,
14 the priest Phinehas ben-Eleazar, with ten princes, one prince of a
family for each of the tribes of ·Western· Israel; each man was the 35
15 head of a family among the thousands of Israel. They came to
the Reubenites, and to the Gadites, *and to the half-tribe of Manassch,*
16 to the land of Gilead, and said to them: The whole Congregation
of JHVH sends this message:[6] What is this breach of faith which
ye have committed against the God of Israel in turning away this 40

day from JHVH to build for yourselves an altar, and to rebel this 22
day against JHVH? Was the iniquity of Peor[7] too little for us, 17
from which we have not cleansed ourselves even to this day, and
•on account of which• the plague came upon the Congregation of
JHVH? Yet ye will turn away this day from JHVH, and if ye 18
rebel against JHVH to-day, to-morrow there will be wrath against
the whole Congregation of Israel. Moreover, if the land of your 19
possession be unclean, pass over to the land of JHVH's possession,
where the Dwelling of JHVH stands, and receive a possession in
the midst of us, but do not rebel either against JHVH or against
us, by building for yourselves an altar other than the altar of
our God, JHVH. Was not Achan ben-Zerah guilty of a breach of 20
faith? yet wrath fell upon the whole Congregation of Israel, and
not he alone perished in his iniquity.

The Reubenites, and the Gadites, *and the half-tribe of Manasseh* 21
answered the heads of the thousands of Israel: EL ELOHIM JHVH, 22
EL ELOHIM JHVH,[8] He knows and Israel shall know: if •we acted•
in rebellion or unfaithfulness against JHVH (do not spare us this
day!) in building for ourselves an altar to turn from following 23
JHVH, or to offer up thereon burnt-offerings, or cereal offerings,
or peace-offerings, let JHVH Himself require it. We have not done 24
this save from fear of what might happen, thinking that hereafter
your sons might say to our sons: What have ye to do with JHVH,
the God of Israel, seeing that JHVH has put a barrier between us 25
and you, ye Reubenites and Gadites, namely, the Jordan; ye have
no portion in JHVH; and your sons cause our sons to cease from
fearing JHVH. So we said: Let us make for ourselves * * *[9] 26
by building the altar neither for burnt-offering nor for sacrifice;
but it shall be a witness between us, and between our sons, and 27
between our descendants, that we are to perform the service of
JHVH before Him with our burnt-offerings, and sacrifices, and peace-
offerings, and that your sons shall not say hereafter to our sons:
Ye have no portion in JHVH. When they speak thus hereafter to 28
us and to our descendants, we thought to say: Behold the
fashion of the altar of JHVH which our fathers made neither for
burnt-offering nor for sacrifice; but it is a witness between us and
you; far be it from us to rebel against JHVH, and to turn this day 29
from JHVH by building an altar for burnt-offering, or cereal offer-
ing, or sacrifice, other than the altar of our God, JHVH, which •stands•
before His Dwelling.

22,30 When the priest Phinehas and the Princes of the Congregation* heard the words that were spoken by the Reubenites and
31 the Gadites *and the Manassites*, they were satisfied. The priest, Phinehas ben-Eleazar, said to the Reubenites and the Gadites *and the Manassites*: To-day we know that JHVH is in the midst of us, because ye have not been guilty of this breach of faith against JHVH; now have ye delivered the Israelites out of the hand of JHVH.[10]
32 Then the priest Phinehas ben-Eleazar and the Princes returned from the Reubenites and the Gadites, from the land of Gilead to the land of Canaan, to the Israelites, and brought them word again.
33 The Israelites were satisfied, and blessed God, and spoke no ‹more› of marching against them to lay waste the land inhabited by
34 the Reubenites and Gadites. The Reubenites and the Gadites called the altar ‹Gal›‹'ed›[11] ‹saying›: It shall be a witness between us that JHVH is God.

Joshua's First Farewell.

23,1 AFTER a long time, when JHVH had given rest to Israel from all their enemies round about, and Joshua was old and
2 advanced in years, he called all Israel with their elders, heads, judges, and officers, and said to them: I am old and advanced in
3 years, and ye have seen all that your God, JHVH, has done to all those nations, ‹in overthrowing them› at your approach; for
4 your God, JHVH, He has fought for you. Behold I have allotted to you those nations that remain as an inheritance for your tribes: from the Jordan * * with all the nations that I have extirpated * * ‹as far as› the Great Sea in the West ‹shall be your
5 territory›.[1] Your God, JHVH, He shall drive them out, and dispossess them to make room for you; ye shall possess their land as your
6 God, JHVH, told you. Be very firm faithfully to observe all that is written in the Book of the Law of Moses, lest ye turn from it
7 to the right hand or to the left, or go among these nations, these that are left with you; or mention the name of their gods or swear
8 by them, or serve them or bow down to them; ye must cleave
9 to your God, JHVH, as ye have done down to this day. JHVH

22,30 *that is, the heads of the thousands of Israel who were with him

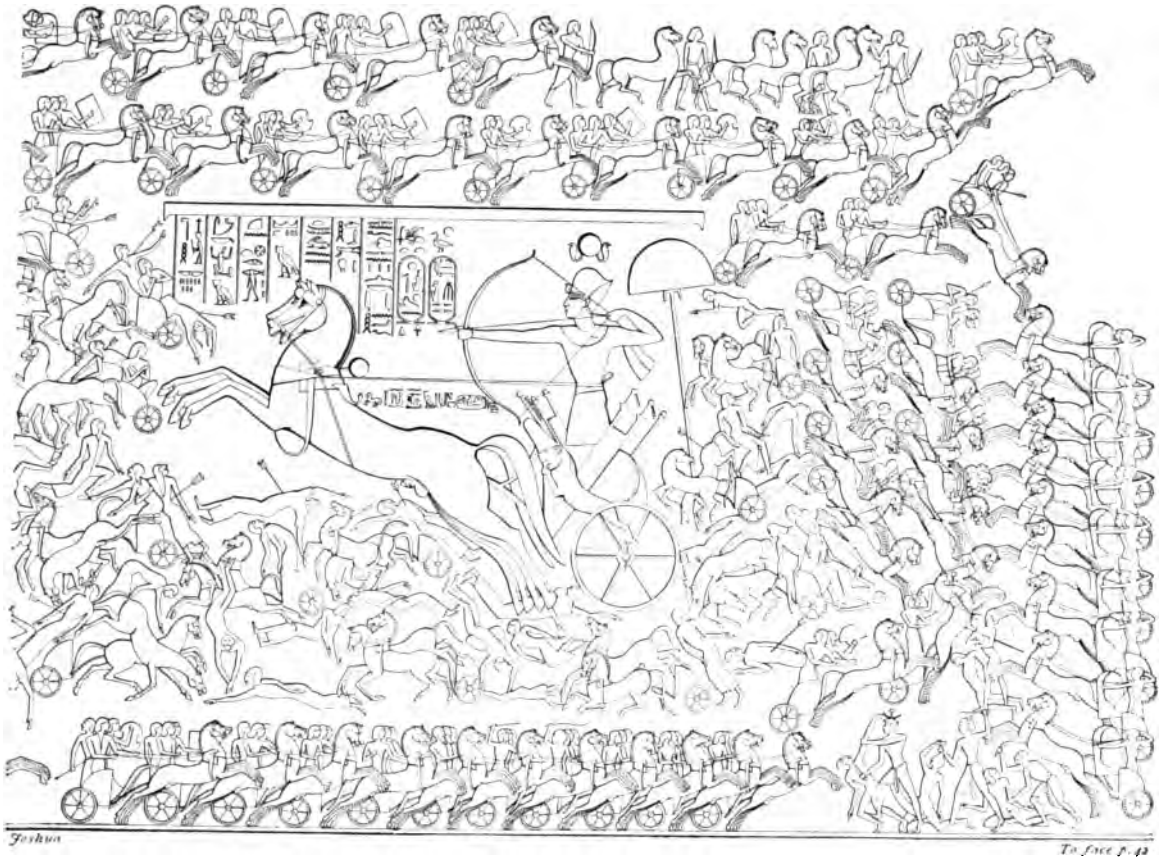
has dispossessed, to make room for you, nations great and powerful, 23
and as for yourselves, not a man has held his own against you
until this day. One man of you chased a thousand; it was your 10
God, JHVH, who fought for you, as He told you. Take good 11
care therefore to love your God, JHVH. But if ye in any wise 12
turn, and ally yourselves with the remnant of these nations, those
that are left with you, and make marriages with them, and mix
with them, and they with you, ye will surely learn that your God, 13
JHVH, will no more dispossess those nations in your favor, and
they will become to you a snare, a trap, and a scourge to your
sides, and thorns in your eyes, until ye are extirpated from this
good land which your God, JHVH, has given you. Behold I go 14
to-day the way of all the earth, and ye know with all your heart
and soul that not one thing has failed of all the good things which
your God, JHVH, spoke concerning you; they have all been fulfilled
for you: not one of them has failed. And as all the good things 15
have come to you that your God, JHVH, promised you, so will
JHVH bring upon you all the evil things, until He extirpate you
from this good land which your God, JHVH, has given you; when 16
ye transgress the covenant with JHVH which He commanded you,
by going to worship and bow down to other gods.<*>

Joshua's Second Farewell; the Covenant.

JOSHUA gathered all the tribes of Israel to Shechem,[1] and called 24, 1
the elders, heads, judges, and officers of Israel, and they
presented themselves before God.[2] Then Joshua said to all 2
the people: Thus says the God of Israel, JHVH: Your fathers
lived of old beyond the river ·Euphrates·, *Terah, the father of
Abraham and Nahor*, and worshiped other gods.[3] I took your 3
father Abraham from beyond the river ·Euphrates·, and led him
throughout all the land of Canaan, and I increased his progeny,
and gave him Isaac. I gave Jacob and Esau to Isaac; and 4
I gave Mount Seir to Esau *to possess it*, while Jacob and his

23, 16 *then will the anger of JHVH be hot against you, and ye will be speedily extirpated from the good land which He has given you

24,5 sons went down to Egypt.[4] I sent Moses and Aaron, and I
plagued Egypt ‹with portents›[5] which I did in the midst of them, and
6 afterward I brought you out. *I brought out your fathers* from Egypt,
and ye came to the sea, and the Egyptians pursued your *fathers*, with
7 chariots[6] and horsemen to the Red Sea, *and they cried to* JHVH, and
He put darkness between you and the Egyptians. He brought
the sea upon them, and covered them, and your eyes saw what
8 He did in Egypt. Ye lived a long time in the Wilderness. I
brought you to the land of the Amorites who lived beyond the
Jordan, and they fought against you, and I gave them into your
hand; ye took possession of their land, while I destroyed them to
9 make room for you. Then the King of Moab, Balak ben-Zippor,
undertook to make war[7] upon Israel, and called Balaam ben-Beor
10 to curse you. But I would not listen to Balaam, and he had to
11 bless you, and I delivered you out of his hand. Then ye passed
over the Jordan, and came to Jericho, and the men[8] of Jericho
fought[9] against you, the Amorites, Perizzites, Canaanites, Hittites,
Girgashites, Hivites, and Jebusites, but I gave them into your hand.
12 I sent before you the hornets,[10] they drove out before you the tw‹elve›[11]
kings of the Amorites, neither by your sword nor by your bow.
13 I gave you a land for which ye had not labored, and cities which
ye had not built; ye settled in them; ye ate of vineyards and olive
14 yards which ye had not planted.[12] Now, therefore, fear JHVH,
and worship Him loyally and faithfully; put away[13] the gods which
your fathers worshiped beyond the river ‹Euphrates› and in
15 Egypt; worship JHVH! If ye are not willing to worship JHVH,
choose this day whom ye will worship, whether the gods your
fathers worshiped who ‹lived› beyond the river ‹Euphrates›, or
the gods of the Amorites in whose land ye live; but as for me
and my House, we will worship JHVH.
16 The people answered: Far be it from us to forsake JHVH
17 to worship other gods. JHVH is our God, it was He who brought
up ourselves *and our fathers* out of the land of Egypt where we
were bondmen, and who did those great signs before our ‹very›
eyes, and kept us all the way wherever we went, and among all
18 the peoples through the midst of whom we passed. JHVH drove
out before us *all the peoples and* the Amorites who inhabited the
19 land. We, too, will worship JHVH, for He is our God. Joshua
said to the people: Ye cannot worship JHVH; He is a holy God;
He is a jealous God; He will not forgive your transgression and
20 your sins. If ye forsake JHVH, and worship strange gods, He



Joshua

To face p. 42

EGYPTIAN, HITTITE, AND CANAANITE CHARIOTS, TIME OF RAMESES II. (LUXOR)

(See p. 91, l. 10)

will turn, and do evil to you, and consume you, after He has 24
done you good. But the people said to Joshua: Not so, we will 21
worship JHVH. Then Joshua said to the people: Ye are witnesses 22
against yourselves, that ye yourselves have chosen JHVH to worship
Him.<*> Now, therefore, put away the strange gods who are among 23
you, and give your heart to JHVH, the God of Israel. The people 24
said to Joshua: We will worship our God, JHVH; Him will we obey.

Then Joshua made a covenant on behalf of the people that 25
day, establishing statutes and ordinances for them at Shechem.
Joshua wrote these words in the Book of the Law of God,[14] took a 26
great stone, and set it up there under the Oak that was in the
sanctuary of JHVH. Joshua said to all the people: This stone 27
shall bear witness against us, it has heard all the words of JHVH
which He spoke with us, and it shall bear witness against you,
lest ye deny your God. Then[15] Joshua dismissed the people to 28
their several possessions.

Death of Joshua.

AFTER these things Joshua ben-Nun, *the Servant of JHVH*, died 29
at the age of a hundred and ten years; and they buried him 30
within the bounds of his estate, at Timnath-serah[16] in the Highlands
of Ephraim, north of Mount Gaash.

Days of the Surviving Elders.

ISRAEL worshiped JHVH all the days of Joshua and all the days 31
of the Elders who outlived Joshua, and who knew all the works
of JHVH that He had done for Israel.

Bones of Joseph.

THE bones of Joseph[17] which the Israelites had brought up 32
from Egypt they buried in Shechem in the portion of the
field which Jacob had bought[18] for a hundred pieces of silver,[19] from
the Sons of Hamor, the father of Shechem, and which ·Jacob had
given· to <> Joseph as his portion.[20]

Death of Eleazar.[21]

ELEAZAR ben-Aaron died, and they buried[22] him in Gibeah, 33
·the city· of his son Phinehas, which had been given to him
in the Hill-country of Ephraim.

24, 22 *they said: ·we are· witnesses

Notes on Joshua

INASMUCH as the Book of Joshua is an integral part of the Hexateuch (*i. e.* Pentateuch + Joshua), the reader is referred for information as to date, authorship, and composition to the Introductions to the previous books.

By way of brief recapitulation, the process of composition of the Hexateuch may be described as follows. Two parallel works, *viz.* the *Judaic* document (J) and the *Ephraimitic* document (E), were compiled between 850 and 650 B. C.; these were afterward combined into a single work (JE) by redactors or editors (R^{JE}). The first edition of *Deuteronomy* (D) was promulgated under Josiah in 621 B. C., having been composed shortly before. This work was afterward supplemented and combined with JE, by editors writing, at various times, in the style and spirit of Deuteronomy and denoted by the symbol R^{D} (*cf.* below, note 1 on c. 1). The result of this second combination was a still more composite work designated as JED.

A fourth work, parallel to J and E, but mainly devoted to Ritual Legislation, was compiled, by Priestly Writers, in successive stages in Babylonia during and after the Exile, and is known as the *Priestly Code* (P), including P* as a later stratum. This was combined with JED by priestly redactors (R^{P}) about 440–400 B. C. The result of this last combination was the complete Hexateuch, from which the portion now known as the Book of Joshua was separated, either at that time or somewhat later, in order to emphasize the Mosaic authorship of the Law; or, perhaps, the Joshua sections of JED and P were separated from the preceding sections before the latter were combined to form the Pentateuch.

Three points should be noticed as peculiar to the Book of Joshua:—

(*a*) Whereas the Pentateuch under the title of the *Torah* became the first Canon of the Hebrew Scriptures, the Book of Joshua was relegated to the second (Prophetical) stratum of the Hebrew Canon. Hence the history of its text is different from that of the Pentateuch. Not being part of the authoritative Code of Judaism, it was not subject to the emendations and modifications necessarily made in such a code; but, on the other hand, it was more liable to unauthoritative alterations, and would be likely to suffer more from careless copying. Further, the Septuagint translation of Joshua is by other hands than that of the Pentateuch.

(*b*) In combining JE and D, R^D made comparatively few alterations in the JE narratives of the period before the death of Moses, but dealt very freely with the JE sections relating to the Conquest.

(*c*) In the Pentateuch, P is used as a framework; in Joshua, JED (see above, p. 44, l. 16).

Sources of the Book.

The JE sections relating to the Conquest constitute a special difficulty in the literary analysis of Joshua. P and the original matter of R^D and R^P can be distinguished with comparative certainty. But J and E are similar in character and subject, and were somewhat carefully combined by R^{JE}; hence the separation of J and E is always difficult. In Joshua, however, the difficulty has been increased by R^D, who have further harmonized their materials. The problem with regard to the analysis of J and E in Joshua may be stated as follows:—

(i) The whole book has passed through the hands of R^P, and the JE sections through the hands of R^{JE} and R^D. These Redactors use phrases &c. of J and E in their redactional work, and in the small fragments the style of different hands cannot be always distinguished. Hence the reference of a passage to J, E, or JE does not exclude the presence of neutral material introduced by R^{JE}, R^D, or even R^P. Such passages, however, remain substantially in their earlier form.

(ii) On the other hand, as the Redactors had these earlier sources before them, the reference of a passage to R^{JE}, R^D or R^P does not exclude the possibility of its being based on earlier material, or the use in it of JE phrases. Such passages, however, have been so completely recast by the Redactors that they rest simply on their authority; *cf.* **22**, 9–34.

(iii) In JE *narratives* (as distinguished from the E *speech* in c. **24**) two parallel accounts can be clearly detected, especially in cc. **3–9**. The leading characteristics also of each story can be pointed out. The reference in the several cases of the one story to J, and the other to E, is also fairly established, though not yet universally accepted. But in cc. **3–9** there is much neutral material which might be equally well referred to either of the two stories, or two sources, and the distribution of this material cannot be always made with entire confidence. These remarks apply with special force to the separation of the older and later strata of J and E, *i. e.* of J^1 from J^2, and E^1 from E^2.

(iv) In the Account of the Division of the land in cc. **13–19**, fragments of earlier sources, probably of JE, are entangled in the P sections. Some have been pointed out, but it is not certain whether in these sections we have a use of earlier sources by P itself, or a combination of P with these sources by R^P.

Explanation of Colors.

In the foregoing translation these sources of the Book of Joshua are represented by colors as follows:—

DARK RED (*e. g.* **10**, 13) is used for *Older Strata* (about 850 B. C.) *of the Judaic Document*, J (see above, p. 44, l. 8 and *cf.* Notes on Judges, p. 48, l. 24).

LIGHT RED (*e. g.* **2**, 12–14) is employed for *Later Strata* (about 750–650 B. C.) *of J* (J^2).

DARK BLUE (*e. g.* **6**, 5) represents *Older Strata* (about 750 B. C.) *of the Ephraimitic Document*, E (see above, p. 44, l. 8).

LIGHT BLUE (*e. g.* **1**, 1. 2) indicates *Later Strata* (about 650 B. C.) *of E* (E^2).

PURPLE, the combination of RED and BLUE, (*e. g.* **2**, 1–9) represents the composite document JE (about 630 B. C.), that is, those parts of the *Prophetical*

Narrative of the Hexateuch, in which the Judaic Document (J) and the Ephraimitic Document (E) are so intimately fused that they cannot be separated by literary analysis. *Cf.* Notes on Judges, p. 46, ll. 26.41; p. 53, l. 35.

GREEN (*e. g.* 1, 3-9) indicates R^D (see above, p. 44, l. 14), that is, *Deuteronomistic Expansions* (additions written in the spirit of Deuteronomy about 570-540 B. C.).

BROWN (*e. g.* **22**, 9-34) is used for P* (see above, p. 44, l. 19), that is, *Later Strata* (440-400 B. C.) *of the Priestly Code* (P), the main body of which (compiled in Babylonia about 500 B. C.) is printed on a white background without any additional coloring (*e. g.* **5**, 10-12).

ORANGE is employed for the fragment **5**, 13-15, the source of which is unknown; see p. 62, l. 24. The purple border around this section indicates that it has been introduced by the compiler of JE.

Italics indicate the latest strata of the respective documents, especially *Redactional Changes or Additions*, made in the process of uniting and harmonizing different sources, or in adjusting the narrative to the point of view of the editors, or under the influence of a parallel passage; see *Judges*, p. 46, ll. 48; *Leviticus*, p. 93, l. 31; p. 94, ll. 1-7; p. 95, l. 53; p. 96, l. 3.

Italics on UNCOLORED background (*e. g.* **5**, 6.7) = R^P (about B. C. 440-400; see above, p. 44, l. 20).

Italics on PURPLE background (*e. g.* **2**, 17) = R^{JE} (about 630 B. C.; see above, p. 44, l. 10).

Italics on GREEN background (*e. g.* **11**, 21.22) = redactional adjustments &c. of R^D (about 570-540 B. C.; see above, l. 4).

Italics on BROWN background (*e. g.* **22**, 10) = R^{P*} (about 440-400 B. C.; see above, l. 7).

The symbols * * (*e. g.* **7**, 15.21.25) indicate *Doublets* of adjacent words (or clauses) which are presumably from a different source, although we have no clue as to which document either should be referred to (*cf.* note 21 on c. 7, p. 66, l. 22; also p. 64, l. 18).

For the explanation of the other critical marks, ‹›, ◦, &c., see above, pp. v and vi.

Place of Joshua in the History of Israel.

The Book of Joshua is parallel to Jud. 1. The picture drawn of the Conquest by these two authorities is, however, quite different. In Joshua the conquest is effected by United Israel under the single leadership of Joshua in a series of systematic and continuous campaigns; the conquest is immediate and complete. In Judges the conquest is a gradual process; separate portions of the country are conquered by independent operations of individual tribes. The conquest is far from complete. An examination of Joshua shows that the picture of an immediate and thorough subjection of the whole country is due to the interpretation put upon the history by R^D, and that the earlier sources of Joshua agree with Jud. 1 and are in part identical with it. The view taken by these earlier sources is historical; that introduced into Joshua by R^D, and possibly also by R^{JE}, is due to a mistaken theory of history, as are also the statements of R^D and P about the observance of the Law of Moses. There are no trustworthy data in OT by which the chronology of the Conquest can

be determined; nor have they been yet furnished by Egyptian or Assyrian inscriptions. The Exodus has been often referred to the reign of Merneptah (about 1300–1266 B. C.), and the absence of any reference to Egypt in the Books of Joshua and Judges would suit the period of weakness through which Egypt passed in the closing years of the Nineteenth Dynasty (1266–1200 B. C.). But an inscription of Merneptah has been recently discovered which mentions Israel amongst other Palestinian peoples conquered by Merneptah (*cf.* note 11 on Ezek. 37), so that, apparently, the Exodus must be placed earlier. Some archeologists have identified the *Khabiri*, who appear as an aggressive power in Palestine in the time of Amenophis IV. (*Ikh-en-atn*; see below, p. 49, l. 6), with the Hebrews; but this view is precarious; see l. 27 and p. 53, l. 28[a].

At any rate, our early information agrees with the Book of Joshua in representing Palestine as divided up among a number of small city-states, each with its own king. It was also mostly tributary to Egypt. Compare the remarks on the Chronology of the Book of Judges, p. 45 of the Notes on Judges; and, for the account of the Conquest, *ibid.* p. 47, l. 32.

Tel el-Amarna Tablets.

The famous discovery of cuneiform tablets, which has made Tel el-Amarna a household word among Bible students, was made in 1887. Many of the dis-



AMENOPHIS III.



AMENOPHIS IV.

coveries in Egypt and Assyria have been barren of any results immediately bearing on the Sacred Scriptures, and experts have been often tempted to soothe popular impatience by ingenious but erroneous conjectures. Even now, indeed, we are probably not brought face to face with the actual characters and events of Hebrew history. Lt.-Col. CONDER'S proposed identification of Ebed-tob, king of Jerusalem, with Joshua's Adoni-zedec is not accepted by other scholars, nor has the theory that the *Hebrews* are mentioned under the name *Khabiri* met with general approval. But these tablets throw a flood of light on Egypt and Western Asia, and especially on Palestine, about 1400 B. C.;[a] probably some time before the Exodus and Conquest. The information obtained from this wonderful discovery is a joint contribution of Assyriology and Egyptology.

[a] *Cf.* Professor JASTROW'S papers on Egypt and Palestine, 1400 B. C. and "The Men of Judah" in the El-Amarna Tablets (*Journal of Biblical Literature*, vols. **11. 12**, Boston, 1892–93).

Tel el-Amarna, about 180 miles south of Cairo by river, was the site of the palace of Amenophis IV., the son and successor of Amenophis III. The latter seems to have reigned about B. C. 1414–1379. Amenophis is the Greek form of the Egyptian name Amen-hotep. The throne name of this king was *Neb-ma't-Rê'* (that is, *Rê* or Ra, the Sungod, *is the Lord of Truth*), which appears in the Amarna Tablets in the form *Nibmuaria*, *Nimmûria*, &c. (see below, p. 51, l. 6).[α] He seems to have ascended the throne in his sixteenth year, and is said to have been a mighty hunter who slew more than a hundred lions with his own hand during the first ten years of his reign. Then he married and apparently relinquished this dangerous sport. His only campaign was against the Ethiopians in his fifth regnal year. He married *Gilukhêpa*, a sister of King Dushratta of Mitân (see below, p. 49, l. 34), and also an Egyptian lady, *Teie*, the mother of Amenophis IV. (see p. 50, l. 9). Numerous temples were erected by Amenophis III., especially at Luxor and Karnak, on the site of Thebes, the ancient capital of Upper Egypt. The annexed engraving represents one[β] of the two famous colossal statues of Amenophis III. on the western bank of the Nile near Thebes (see *Ezekiel*, p. 159). It is the more southern of the two statues, commonly known as the Colossi of Memnon. The other, which is still more mutilated, is the celebrated Vocal Statue of Memnon, so-called because for about two centuries, at the beginning of the Christian era, it emitted a harplike sound at sunrise.[γ] At that period these colossi were looked upon as statues of Memnon who commanded the Ethiopian allies of the Trojans, and the musical wonder was explained as Memnon's greeting to his mother, Eos, the goddess of morn. The sound (which was heard no more after the colossus was repaired about A. D. 200) may have been produced by the influence of the heat of the sun suddenly following upon the cold nights in Egypt. Similar phenomena have been observed elsewhere: at Karnak and Syene; east of Damascus; in the Pyrenees; on the banks of the Orinoco, &c.



COLOSSUS OF MEMNON.

The son and successor of Amenophis III., the heretical king Amenophis IV. (later *Ikh-en-atn*; see below, p. 49, l. 6) reigned about B.C. 1383–1365. His throne name was *Nefr-khepru-Rê'* (i. e. *Noble in his Manifestations is Rê'*), which appears in the Amarna Tablets as *Napkhûraria*, *Nipkhûriria*, &c. (see below, p. 51, l. 41). He was co-regent during the last years of his father's reign, and married the Mitanian princess *Tâdukhêpa*, a niece of his father's wife *Gilukhêpa* (see above, l. 11). In the picture on p. 47, which is part of one taken from the Egyptian monuments, he is represented as adoring the Sun, whose rays, ending in hands, stretch out to him, to support him and bestow life and strength. Amenophis IV. was a fanatical[δ] reformer who endeavored to supersede

[α] *Cf.* Notes on Isaiah, p. 139, l. 24.

[β] The original height of this statue seems to have been nearly 70 feet.

[γ] Tacitus, *Ann.* 2, 61: *Memnonis saxea effigies, ubi radiis solis icta est, vocalem sonum reddens.*

[δ] His fanatic character is apparent in his portrait (see above, l. 45).

the old polytheistic religion of Egypt by the exclusive worship of the Sun. He prohibited the cult of Amon and of all other gods, especially those of Thebes; their images were destroyed and their names erased from the walls of the temples and other public buildings. He changed his own name Amenophis (Amen-hotep, which contains the name of the god Amon) into *Ikh-en-atn* (*Khu-en-aten*, *Akh-en-aten*), that is, *Spirit of the Sun* (or *Splendor of the Solar Disk*; see *Isaiah*, p. 143). He left the residence of his father, Thebes, and built, half-way between Thebes and Memphis, in Middle Egypt, a new magnificent capital, *Khut-atn* (that is, *Horizon of the Sun*), the site of which is now known as Tel el-Amarna. After his death, however, a reaction set in: his innovations were abolished, his name erased from monuments, and the new city he had founded was destroyed.



LEFT-HAND EDGE OF CUNEIFORM DISPATCH OF KING DUSHRATTA.

The majority of the cuneiform dispatches found in the record-chamber of the royal palace at Tel el-Amarna are addressed to Amenophis IV. or to his ministers. The tablets, numbering over 300, are part of the official correspondence of this king, and of his father, with the kings of Babylonia and Assyria and of the other states of Western Asia, and especially with the Egyptian officials and subject-allies in Palestine. A remarkable feature of this correspondence is that the letters are in the cuneiform character, and in the Babylonian language.[α] It thus appears that Babylonian was the language of diplomacy in Western Asia and Syria, and these tablets show that Egyptians had some acquaintance even with Babylonian mythology. [One of the tablets (No. 240 in the edition of the Berlin Museum) contains a Babylonian mythological text, known as the Adapa Legend (*cf.* JASTROW, *Religion of Babylonia and Assyria*, Boston, 1898, p. 544). The cuneiform text of this legend has been marked by an Egyptian scribe with a number of dots in black ink. Another mythological text (No. 82 in the edition of the British Museum; *cf. ibid.* pl. 17) refers to the goddess of the nether world, the consort of Nergal (2 Kings 17, 30), and to her messenger Namtâr (see JASTROW, *op. cit.*, pp. 570. 584).[β] This text is marked with dots in red ink. The practice of marking short clauses or sentences with red dots was common in Egypt.

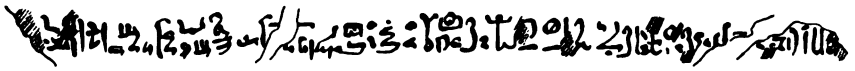
Several of the cuneiform dispatches have dockets in Egyptian hieratic characters, recording the date of their arrival in Egypt, the name of the sender, &c. For instance, in one of the letters[γ] of King Dushratta of Mitân (in northern Mesopotamia, on the eastern bank of the Euphrates, north of the mouth of the river Belias, Arab. *el-Balikh*) to Amenophis IV., we find, on the

[α] One of the letters (No. 27 in the edition of the Berlin Museum) is in the language of *Mitân* (see above, l. 34); another (No. 10) in the language of *Arçapi* or rather *Arzaya*, that is, perhaps, the non-Semitic name of *Alashia* (*cf.* below, p. 50, l. 15) = Cyprus (ZA 10, 263); No. 238 also is in this language.

[β] The texts of two other fragmentary mythological tablets have been partially restored in the Johns Hopkins Contributions to Assyriology, vol. 4, pp. 131–134.

[γ] No. 23 in HUGO WINCKLER, *The Tel-el-Amarna Letters* (Berlin, 1896); p. 19 in the edition of the Berlin Museum (Berlin VA. Th. 233); *cf.* W. M. FLINDERS PETRIE, *Syria and Egypt, from the Tel-el-Amarna Letters* (London, 1898), p. 36, No. 12.

left-hand edge of the tablet,[α] a hieratic note, in black ink, stating that this dispatch was received when the Egyptian Court resided in the Southern capital (Thebes) and that it was the copy of a Naharinian[β] letter which the mes-



HIERATIC NOTE ON CUNEIFORM DISPATCH OF DUSHRATTA.

sengers had brought. In the same way a letter[γ] of Dushratta to Amenophis III., the father of Amenophis IV., contains, at the end of the reverse, three lines of hieratic writing, much defaced, which give the arrival of this dispatch in Egypt, apparently in the 36th year of Amenophis III., in the month of Pharmuthi (March–April). Another letter[δ] of Dushratta is addressed to the widow of Amenophis III., Queen Teie, and on the lower part of the reverse are two lines of hieratic writing, much defaced; on the left-hand edge also a few hieratic characters are visible, apparently stating that this letter was *For the Queen*. One of the letters[ε] from Alashia (Cyprus) bears on the reverse a hieratic docket in black ink: *Letter of the Prince of Alashia.*[ζ]



HIERATIC NOTE ON DISPATCH FROM ALASHIA.

The plate facing p. 1 represents the obverse of one of the largest tablets found at el-Amarna. This tablet contains a letter[η] of King Dushratta to Amenophis IV. On the reverse is an illegible hieratic character in black ink. The size of this tablet, which is preserved in the Royal Museum, Berlin, is 45 x 26 cm (17¾ x 10¼ in.).— P. H.]

The tablets fall into three classes:—

(i) Correspondence between Amenophis III. and Amenophis IV. of Egypt, on the one hand, and Dushratta, king of Mitân; Kadashman-Bel,[θ] king of Baby-

[α] See the cut on p. 49. The size of this tablet is 26 x 15 cm (10¼ x 6 in.).

[β] Naharina = *Syria on the Euphrates* (see *Judges*, p. 57, l. 14), *i. e.* the Lowland of Northern Syria on both sides of the Euphrates, west of the river Habor (2 Kings **17**, 6; **18**, 11; 1 Chr. **5**, 26; Arab. *el-Khâbûr*). It is not Mesopotamia but Parapotamia (Strabo **16**. 753).

[γ] No. 20 in WINCKLER'S translation; No. 10 (pl. 23) in the edition of the British Museum; PETRIE, No. 8. Size of tablet: 3⅛ x 2⅛ in.

[δ] No. 22 in WINCKLER'S translation; No. 11 (pl. 9) in the edition of the British Museum; PETRIE, No. 9. Size of tablet: 5⅛ x 3⅛ in.

[ε] No. 29 in WINCKLER'S translation; No. 12 in the edition of the Berlin Museum; PETRIE, No. 29. The original is preserved in the Egyptian Museum of Gizeh. The size of this tablet is 12 x 8 cm (4¾ x 3⅛ in.). For *Alashia* cf. *Elishah*, Ezek. **27**, 7.

[ζ] See also Nos. 5. 9. 131. 158. 163. 187. 213. 220. 254. 255 in WINCKLER'S translation, = Nos. 17. 6 (Hieratic docket, in red ink, on the upper edge). 160. 94. 112. 167. 122. 131. 136. 139 in the edition of the Berlin Museum.

[η] No. 21 in WINCKLER'S translation; No. 24 in the edition of the Berlin Museum (see *ibid.* pl. ii); PETRIE, No. 11.

[θ] It has been recently shown that we must read *Kadashman-Bel* instead of *Kallima-Sin*. See Johns Hopkins Contributions to Assyriology, vol. 4, p. 112, l. 27.

lonia; and the kings of the Hittites, and of Alashia, on the other. The letters of Dushratta and Kadashman-Bel show that the Egyptian kings of the 18th dynasty frequently intermarried with the royal house of Mitân, and less often with that of Babylon. One letter, from which we give extracts,[a] strikingly illustrates the relations of these great powers of 1400 B. C. This letter is from *Nibmuaria* (Amenophis III.) to Kadashman-Bel. In a previous letter *Nibmuaria* had asked for Kadashman-Bel's daughter in marriage; and Kadashman-Bel, in his reply, had demurred, because he was doubtful about the treatment of his sister, who had been previously sent to Egypt. The letter opens:—

To Kadashman-Bel, King of Karduniash, my brother, from Nibmuaria, the great King, the King of Egypt, your brother. I am well, may you be well; with your house, your wives, your sons, your chief men, your horses, your chariots, and your lands, may it be very well. I am well; with my house, my wives, my sons, my chief men, my horses, my chariots, my people, it is very well; and with my lands it is very well.

Verily, I have heard the communication, which you have written me, namely:

"You wish, indeed, my daughter to wife, although my sister, whom my father gave you, is there with you, and no one has seen her as yet, whether she is alive, or whether she is dead."

These are your words, which you, in your letter, have written me. But you have never sent a *kamiru*,[β] who knows your sister, who could have conversed with, and could have recognized her, and could have spoken with her. The people, whom you sent . . . there is not one among them, who stood near (?) your father.

* * * * * * * * * * * *

And when you write:

"Even if you command my messengers and your wives, that they should all come together in open session, in your presence, and even if you (Pharaoh) say (to the messengers): 'Behold your mistress, who stands before you,' nevertheless my messengers do not know whether she (really) is my sister, who is with you. . . . Who knows but what she may be the daughter of a beggar, or of a Gagean,[γ] or a maiden of Khanigalbat,[δ] or who knows, whether she is from Ugarit,[ε] she whom my messengers see . . . When my messengers come there and speak with her, they ought to bring me a present from her, as proof of the fact that she is with you."—(Extract from No. 1, in WINCKLER'S translation; PETRIE, No. 13.)

Later letters show that Kadashman-Bel was induced to send his daughter to Amenophis; so that we may hope that Kadashman-Bel's sister, about whom he was anxious, was living in all due state and honor at the Egyptian court.

Other letters also, of this class, refer to intermarriages between the various royal houses. Romance, however, is much mixed up with business; and the kings are very keen to obtain satisfactory presents from each other. They seem to have bartered princesses, gold, and other valuable products. For instance, in a letter from Kadashman-Bel's successor, Burraburiash, to Napkhûraria (Amenophis IV. of Egypt), the Babylonian king makes the following complaint:

Your messengers have come three times, but you have sent no beautiful present; and I, too, no beautiful present at all have I sent you. If nothing is refused me, I will refuse you nothing. Your messenger, whom you sent, the 20 minas of gold, which he brought, were not complete, and when it was put in the furnace, it did not amount to 5 minas . . . Animals, be they of the country, be they of the city (?), as if they were alive shall they be made; the skin, as if it were alive, I will prepare, your messenger shall bring (them) . . . As your present I send you 2 minas of azure stone . . . your daughter, my son's wife . . . a necklace of gems and azure stones, 1048 in number, I have sent you for her present.—(WINCKLER, No. 8; PETRIE, No. 19.)

[a] Our extracts are taken from WINCKLER'S translation (see above, p. 49, note [γ]) with a few slight corrections and adaptations to English pronunciation and idiom.

[β] Probably a court official.—[γ] That is, a Northern barbarian; *cf.* Gog, Ezek. 38, 2.

[δ] Apparently = Mitân (p. 49, l. 34). [ε] Not identified; perhaps near Antioch.

[ζ] Apparently only betrothed and still at home.

Probably these state embassies partook of the character of trading caravans, and furnished an opportunity for other commerce besides the interchange of presents and princesses between the sovereigns of Egypt, Babylon, Mitân, and the Hittites. Doubtless, too, other caravans passed to and fro between these different countries. The caravan routes passed either through Palestine or along its borders; so that the Amarna Tablets imply considerable intercourse between Palestine and these neighboring empires.

(ii) The Second Group of Letters refers to Northern Syria and Phœnicia. At the beginning of the period covered by this correspondence, these regions, as well as the rest of Palestine, were subject to Egypt; and the cities were governed by princes dependent upon Egypt. We gather that the weakness of Egypt and the withdrawal of its troops led to dissensions and revolts of the subject princes; and that the Hittites took the opportunity to encroach upon the Syrian dominions of Egypt. Many of the letters are appeals from the subject kings for aid against one another. In more than one instance, each of two mutual enemies claims that *he* is a loyal subject of Egypt and fighting in its interests, and that the other is a rebel against their common suzerain.

For instance, the Amorite Prince, Aziru, writes to the king of Egypt as follows: —

> To my lord, the King, my god, my sun: Aziru, your servant. At the feet of my lord, the King, seven times and seven times I fall . . . In all respects I and my sons are servants of my lord, the King, to all eternity.—(WINCKLER, No. 47; PETRIE, No. 150.)

This is only one of many protestations of Aziru's loyalty; he often appeals to the king of Egypt not to listen to those who accuse him (Aziru) of enmity to Egypt. On the other hand Rib-Addi, Prince of Gebal (Byblos), constantly protests *his* loyalty to Egypt, and seems to have defended its interests to the utmost of his ability. In Rib-Addi's letters, Aziru appears as the consistent enemy of Egypt and her adherents. Evidently the Intelligence Department of the Egyptian Foreign Office was very imperfectly served, and Pharaoh's ministers had great difficulty in distinguishing friends and foes. The Egyptian vassals received scant aid from Egypt, and town after town fell into the hands of the enemy, amongst whom the Khabiri are conspicuous. We read of the loss of Zidon, Beyroot, and Arvad. Damascus is spoken of as appealing for help, and when last we hear of Tyre, its king, Abimelech, is still holding out for Egypt, but is reduced to great extremities.

Naturally the decay of Egyptian authority and the consequent wars interfered with communication between Egypt and the countries beyond Palestine. In the following extracts Burnaburiash complains to Amenophis IV. of the injuries done in Palestine to Babylonian subjects and envoys.

> Inasmuch as they told me, that the road is dangerous, the water supply cut off, and the weather hot, I have not sent you many beautiful presents . . . With regard to Çalmu, my messenger, whom I sent to you, his caravan has been twice plundered . . . Since they have plundered him in your land, which is a land of vassalage, let therefore my brother adjust this strife. When my messenger comes into my brother's presence, let Çalmu also come before my brother, that they may refund him his ransom, and make good his loss.—(WINCKLER, No. 10; PETRIE, No. 22.)

> Now my merchants, who journeyed with Akhi-tâb (Ahitub), and tarried in Kinâkhi (Canaan) on business . . . they have killed and appropriated their money . . . Kinâkhi is your land, and you are the King. I have been violently dealt with in your land; subdue them. Make good the money they have stolen; and the people, who killed my servants, kill them and avenge their blood.—(WINCKLER, No. 11; PETRIE, No. 124.)

(iii) Letters from the south of Palestine (the Philistine cities, and the district which was afterwards Judea). The distinction between (ii) and (iii) is geographical, the letters of the two groups are very similar. Those in (iii) are from Egyptian governors and dependent princes to Pharaoh and his officials. We find the same break-up of the Egyptian power in the South as in the North; and in the South also the dependent princes strive to profit by the weakness of Egypt to aggrandize themselves at each other's expense. Here again mutual enemies all profess to be loyal to Egypt; each correspondent, according to his own account, is a faithful subject and is attacking some one else, only because the other is betraying the interests of Egypt. Such professions are made even by princes who have allied themselves to the enemies of Egypt. The letters are full of mutual recriminations. But there were clearly two chief parties, one loyal to Egypt; the other professing loyalty, but in reality allied with the enemies of Egypt. The latter party, as in the North, is everywhere successful.

A few names connect the history of the South with that of the North. Zimrida, prince of Lachish, can scarcely be the same as the Zimrida, prince of Zidon, of group (ii); but a certain Lapaya is active against Egypt, not only in the South, but as far north as Megiddo. The chief common element in the situation, North and South, is the Khabiri. They seem ubiquitous, and appear as far north as Gebal, Beyroot, and Zidon (WINCKLER, Nos. 55. 60. 147);[a] but they are perhaps most conspicuous and successful in the South. The wide range of their operations makes it difficult to identify them with the Hebrews. Any such identification would seriously add to the objections to the historic character of any portion of Joshua.



OBVERSE OF TEL-HESY TABLET.

An interesting point as regards this group is that Zimrida of Lachish, who is the writer of one of the letters and is mentioned in another, is also mentioned in a letter found at Lachish (Tel-Hesy; *cf.* below, note 6 on c. **10**) by Mr. BLISS, on May 14th 1892.[b] This letter is a tablet in Babylonian cuneiform, in a script similar to that of the Amarna tablets of this third group. It belongs to the period of these tablets, and is a report from one Egyptian official to another. It mentions a message sent to Zimrida by a certain Shipti-Addi (or Dan-Hadad). The original tablet (size: $2\frac{3}{8} \times 2\frac{1}{8} \times \frac{11}{16}$ in.), which is of dark brown, baked clay, nearly flat on both sides (contrast *Ezekiel*, p. 98, l. 48), is now in the Imperial Ottoman Museum, Constantinople. The cuneiform text is published in the *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society*, New Series, vol. xviii, part 3 (Philadelphia,

[a] See above, p. 52, l. 34. The presence, however, of the Khabiri in the North depends on WINCKLER'S interpretation of SA-GAZ = *Khabiri*, which is doubtful: [SA-GAZ seems to be merely an ideogram for *khabbatu* 'spoiler' (*cf.* Jud. **2**, 14), that is, *raiding nomads*. According to Dr. REISNER the Khabiri were Cassites; see *Journ. Bibl. Lit.*, vol. **16** (Boston, 1896), p. 143 and *cf.* note on Gen. **10**, 8, also *The Language of Nimrod, the Cassite* in the *Andover Review* (July, 1884) p. 88.—P. H.]

[b] WINCKLER, No. 219; PETRIE, No. 235.

1896), pl. 64, No. 147; *cf. ibid.* pl. xxiv, Nos. 66. 67 and p. 65 (contrast OLZ **2**, 5 and Johns Hopkins Contributions to Assyriology, vol. 4, p. 153). See also F. J. BLISS, *A Mound of Many Cities* (London, 1894), pp. 52-60 and pp. 184-187. The half-tone reproduction of this tablet, on p. 53, is from a plaster cast in the possession of Professor JASTROW, Philadelphia.

We add two or three extracts from letters of this group. The first shows how the Egyptians arranged for a supply of loyal native officials. The writer, Yabitiri, is a native prince or noble, commanding for Egypt at Gaza and Joppa. He writes thus:—

I am a faithful servant of my lord, the King. I look here and I look there, and there is no light, but I look to my lord, the King, and there is light. And (though) a brick move away from under its coping, I will not remove from under the feet of my lord, the King. Let my lord, the King, ask Yankhamu, his officer. When I was (still) young, he carried me to Egypt, and I served my lord, the King, and stood at my lord, the King's gate. Let my lord, the King, ask his officer, if I do not guard the gate of Gaza and the gate of Joppa.—(WINCKLER, No. 214; PETRIE, No. 101.)

Special interest attaches to a series of letters from Abdi-khiba,[α] prince of Jerusalem. The mention of *Urusalim* decides the long controversy as to the existence of the name in pre-Davidic times, and affords new data for its etymology (see below, note 2 on c. **10**). But, according to WINCKLER, No. 183 (PETRIE, No. 256), the supposed discovery of a description of Jerusalem as *the city of the temple of Urash, whose name is Salim*[β] is due to a mistranslation. [Nevertheless, this letter of Abdi-khiba to the King is most interesting as to the early history and importance of the city of Jerusalem. Line 10 of this text can hardly be interpreted as meaning anything else but: *they have taken the district of the holy city*; and ll. 14. 15: *the capital of the land, whose name is Jerusalem, the city of the temple of Adar, the royal city*[γ] (so Professor DELITZSCH). The reading of the name *Adar* (*Urash*, *Nin-ib*) is uncertain, but we know that this god was the Assyro-Babylonian god of war and the god of the destructive storm-cloud (see JASTROW, *Religion of Babylonia and Assyria*, Boston, 1898, pp. 214. 217), just as JHVH was, according to early Israelitish conception, a god of war who revealed himself in thunderstorms (*cf.* Jud. **5**, 5; 1 Kings **19**, 11; Ps. **18**, 7, and Professor BUDDE's Lectures on *The Religion of Israel from the Earliest Times to the Exile*, New York, 1899, Lecture I). *Adar* may, therefore, refer to JHVH, just as, for instance, the Babylonian god *Ea* is called *Kronos* in Berossus' version of the Chaldean account of the Deluge. Ancient writers often apply names of their own gods to deities of other nations.—P. H.]

Again, clauses in Abdi-khiba's letters have been translated as describing him as owing his authority neither to father nor mother, but to the Most High God; and this description has been compared to that of Melchizedek, who was priest-king of Jerusalem. But according to WINCKLER, No. 181 (PETRIE, No. 234; *cf.* ZA **6**, 247), the passage reads:—

Neither my father nor my mother, but the strong arm of the King (*scil.* of Egypt) established me over my father's territory.

Abdi-khiba seems to have been the most zealous supporter of Egypt in Southern Palestine, and his letters enable us to understand how rapidly the

[α] Some archeologists regard this name as equivalent to *Ebed-tob*.

[β] So SAYCE in *Records of the Past*[2], vol. **5** (London, 1891), p. 72; contrast ZA **6**, 263.

[γ] *Cf.* Josh. **10**, 2. WINCKLER translates line 10: *and have taken the territory of Rubuti*; and ll. 14. 15 *a city of the territory of Jerusalem, called Bit-Ninib, one of the cities of the king*; see below, p. 55, l. 22.

cities fell away. The following extracts illustrate these events, and show us that the Khabiri played a most important part in them.

Let the King care for his land, and (pay some heed) to his land; the cities of my lord, the King, belonging to Ili-milki (Elimelech), have fallen away, and the whole territory of the King will be lost . . . If you do not listen to me, all the dependent princes will be lost, and my lord, the King, will have no more dependent princes (*cf.* Ezra 4, 16). Let the King therefore turn his attention to the princes, and let my lord, the King, send troops. The King has no longer any territory. If troops come in this year, the territory will remain my lord, the King's; but if no troops come, the territory of my lord, the King, is lost.

Abdi-khiba,—knowing that his letter will pass through the hands of the royal scribe or secretary, and apparently not certain that Pharaoh will ever see it,—adds, in a kind of postscript, a special appeal to the scribe:—

To the scribe of my lord, the King:—Abdi-khiba, your servant. Bring plainly (aloud) before my lord, the King, (these) words: "The whole territory of my lord, the King, is going to ruin."—(WINCKLER, No. 179; PETRIE, No. 227; *cf.* ZA 6, 251.)

In another letter of Abdi-khiba's (*cf.* above, p. 54, l. 42) we read:—

The Khabiri are occupying the King's cities. There remains not one prince to my lord, the King; every one is ruined.—(WINCKLER, No. 181; PETRIE, No. 234.)

And again in another letter:—

The territory of the King has fallen into the hands of the Khabiri. And now indeed a city of the territory of Jerusalem, called Bit-Ninib,* one of the cities of the King, has fallen into the hands of the people of Kiltu (perhaps = *Keilah*, Josh. 15, 44). Send troops that I may bring back the King's land to the King. For if there are no troops, the land of the King will fall into the hands of the Khabiri.—(WINCKLER, No. 183; PETRIE, No. 256; *cf.* ZA 6, 263.)

Letters like these naturally contain much repetition, a large proportion of their contents consists of the complimentary formulas addressed to the kings of Egypt and Babylon. Yet the letters throw much incidental light on religion and commerce, and above all else give us a clear idea of the political situation. We see that the commercial and political system of the lands between the Euphrates and the Nile was ancient in the days of Abraham, and scarcely altered its essential features till the surrender of Babylon to Cyrus (538 B. C.). Indeed the Ptolemies of Egypt (323–30 B. C.) and the Seleucid kings of Syria (312–64 B. C.) reproduced in a measure the conditions of Egypt and Babylon. Throughout there are the city-states of Palestine and Phœnicia, and the great empires SE, NW, and W along the Nile, the Euphrates, and the Tigris. The chief change was the formation of the larger states of Israel and Damascus. Otherwise the Palestine of the Amarna Tablets is, in its political aspects, substantially the Palestine of almost all pre-Roman periods.

Notes on Chapter 1.

1, 1 (1) *Servant of JHVH*, Deut. 34, 5; *Minister*, Ex. 24, 13.

It will be seen that here, as elsewhere, the Deuteronomic passages in Joshua are largely a mosaic of sentences and phrases taken from Deuteronomy

*Or *Adar*; contrast above, p. 54, l. 28.

or characteristic of it; *cf.* vv. 3–5[a] = Deut. **11**, 24. 25; vv. 5[b]. 6 = Deut. **31**, 6–8; vv. 13–15 = Deut. **3**, 18–20. Note also: *observe to do* (Deut. **11**, 32 &c.); *that thou mayst deal prudently whithersoever thou goest* (Deut. **29**, 9); *this book of the Law* (Deut. **29**, 21 &c.); *your God* or *thy God* in connection with JHVH. 1

This chapter strikes the two key-notes of the Deuteronomic editor, or editors, of Joshua: (*a*) v. 5, Joshua the equal successor of Moses: *as I was with Moses, so I will be with thee*; (*b*) v. 7, *Observe the Law*; Joshua's mission, the condition of his success and of Israel's prosperity, is the observance of the Law of Moses, *i. e.* (as always in Deut. passages) the legislation in Deut. **12–26**.



HITTITE WARRIORS.

(2) *Great Sea* = Mediterranean; *cf.* Ezek. **47**, 10 &c.

(3) *Hittites*, late and rare use of this word for inhabitants of Palestine generally. For the Hittites see *Ezekiel*, p. 122, l. 25. The annexed illustration represents some Hittite warriors who took part in the battle of Kadesh on the Orontes, the climax of Rameses II.'s (see p. 91, l. 11) great campaign against the *Kheta* or Hittites, then the dominant power to the N and NE of Syria. Its incidents are narrated in the Egyptian 'Poem of Pentaur.' Rameses was cut off from the main body of his army, and defended himself with miraculous valor and success till reinforced. The Hittites 4



BEND OF THE JORDAN NEAR JERICHO.

in Palestine, however, can only have been outlying settlements of this great nation.

(4) Quoted Heb. **13**, 5 as reason for *being content with such things as ye have*. 5

(5) *Meditate thereon day and night*, quoted Psalm **1**, 3. 8

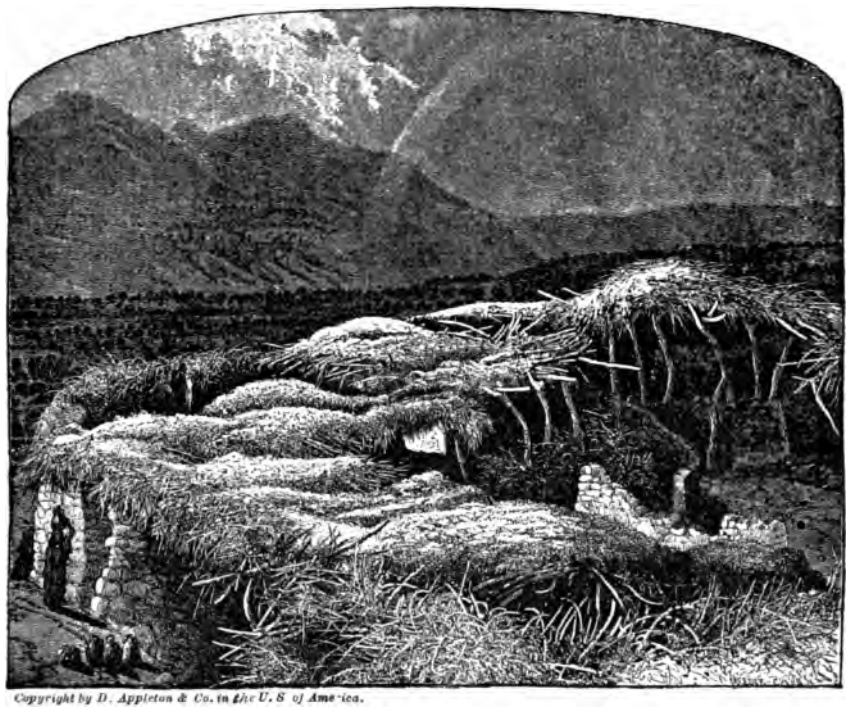
(6) Compare Exodus, chapter **5**, verse 6. 10

(7) *Cf.* interval of preparation before giving of Law from Sinai, Ex. **19**, 11 (E). 11

(8) That is, east of the Jordan; the writer's point of view is Western Palestine. The illustration on p. 56 shows a bend of the Jordan and its valley, not far from Jericho. Note the deep trench, in which the stream flows, and the rich, tropical vegetation. The distant hills appear in the background. 1, 14

Notes on Chapter 2.

There are indications of the combination of two sources in the doublets in vv. 3.4a and 6a. 15. 21b and 22a. Again, in vv. 6.8 the men are on the roof, and in v. 15 they are let down through the window. The conversation in vv. 17–21 is out of place, if the men have already been let down. The *three days* in vv. 16. 22 is to be identified with the *three days* in 1, 11; 3, 2. Mathematical accuracy is not to be looked for in these narratives, the various references simply indicate



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JERICHO.

that the same interval is intended; *cf.* the phrase *three days and three nights* for the interval between the burial of our Lord and the Resurrection.

(1) Mentioned in Num. 25, 1 (JE) and 33, 49 (P, Abel-Shittim) as the last halting place of the Israelites. 2, 1

(2) Previously referred to only as a landmark (Deut. 32, 49 &c.); Jericho and Gilgal lay in the Plain of the Jordan, opposite Shittim, west of the river. The plain at this point is about 16 miles wide, and the river flows through it at about equal distances from the mountains of Moab and the Hill-country of Judah and Benjamin, which rise somewhat abruptly from the plain as its eastern and western boundaries. Jericho lay close under the western hills, in a large

and fertile oasis watered by the stream of the Wâdy el-Qelt[α] and two important springs. As Jericho is called in 2 Chr. **28**, 15 the *City of Palm-trees*, the oasis was probably at this time, as in later days, rich in palm-trees, which, however, have now disappeared (*cf.* Notes on Judges, p. 49, l. 47). Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, **5**, 14 (70), calls the city: *Hiericus palmetis consita, fontibus rigua*; *cf.* Tac., *Hist.*, **5**, 6. (For palm-trees, *cf.* the full-page illustration facing p. 98 of *Psalms* and note 21 on Ezek. **40**.) The position was of military importance — 'the *Chiavenna* of Palestine to any invader from this quarter' (STANLEY) — opposite Jericho the Jordan could be crossed by fords, and through the hills south-west and north-west ran the passes leading up to the Hill-country of Judah and Benjamin. 2



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HOUSE ON THE CITY WALL.

The name has been interpreted (a) *Place of Fragrance*; from the balsam and other odoriferous products of the oasis (Heb. *rûakh* 'to smell'); (b) *City of the Moon* (Heb. *yérakh*), the etymology suggesting that it was in ancient times a centre of Moon-worship. In the illustration on p. 57 we are west of the Jordan, with our backs to the river, looking across the plain of Jericho to the Hill-country of Judah, seen in the background. The squalid group of huts in the foreground ('a few hovels and a tower on the edge of a swamp,' G. A. SMITH, *Hist. Geog. of Palestine*, p. 266), is *Eriḥâ* or *Riḥâ*,[β] the residuum of the Jericho of the Crusaders, and the modern representative of the wealth and splendor of the *City of Palm-trees*. The ancient city lay to the west of *Riḥâ*, the OT Jericho about *'Ain es-Sultân*,[γ] Herod's city on the Wâdy el-Qelt (p. 66, l. 33) a little to the south of the latter. In the plate facing p. 2, we are on the northern mountains of Moab, shown in the foreground, and look eastward. The plain of the Jordan fills the middle distance, and through it winds the river in its deep trench. Underneath the eastern hills lay the camp of Israel before they crossed the Jordan. The hills in the distance are the highlands of Judah, and between them and the river lay Jericho. The Dead Sea is not shown; it would be to the left of the picture.

[α] See below, note 23 on c. **7** and note 4 on c. **15**.

[β] These two forms are, of course, corruptions of the name *Jericho*.

[γ] That is, the 'Fountain of the Sultan,' which may be identical with the *Waters of Jericho* in Josh. **16**, 1 and with the Fountain of Elisha in 2 Kings **2**, 21.

(3) By the fords (v. 7) or swimming, if (as in **3**, 15) the river was already 2
in flood, as in 1 Chr. **12**, 15 the Gadites swam to David.

(4) Prostitution was not regarded as a sin by heathen nations, and was practiced as a religious observance in connection with their temple-worship; (compare *Leviticus*, p. 86, l. 50; *Ezekiel*, p. 135, l. 31). In Matth. **1**, 5 Rahab is an ancestress of David and Jesus; she is adduced as an example of faith Heb. **11**, 31, and of works Jas. **2**, 25.

(5) Compare Exodus **15**, 14-16 (JE) and Deuteronomy **2**, 25; **11**, 25. 9

(6) Compare Exodus **22**, 20; Leviticus **26**; Deuteronomy **7**. 10

(7) ARV *a true token* (Vulg. *verum signum*), some clear means of indicating to the conquerors Rahab and her friends, and of securing their safety. The clause interrupts the connection, and is either from a second source (and should possibly connect with the *scarlet thread* below); or, as it is omitted in the Greek Bible, it may be a late redactional addition. 12

(8) They will die if Rahab is not saved; a form of oath. 14

(9) Compare St. Paul's experience at Damascus, Acts **9**, 25. The custom of building houses on the walls of cities still prevails in the East. The cut on p. 58 gives a modern example of a house on the present city wall of Damascus. 15

Notes on Chapter 3.

Note as doublets: (*a*) The crossing is mentioned at least twice, first **3**, 16b-**4**, 1a, and secondly **4**, 10; — (*b*) The priests pass over twice, **4**, 11 and 18. — (*c*) Two sets of twelve stones, first in the midst of the Jordan, **4**, 9; secondly at Gilgal, **4**, 1. 8.

3, 12 is quite out of place in its present connection, as are also **4**, 1b-3.

4, 1b-3 (JHVH's instructions to Joshua) must precede **3**, 12 (Joshua's orders to the people).

Note also the following connections in E: **3**, 3 and 14 the people remove from their place; in **3**, 15 the waters are staid as soon as the feet of the priests dip in them, in **4**, 18 they return as soon as their feet are lifted out of the water to the dry ground; also the references to the twelve stones at the lodging place.

Neither account is complete, but the E narrative serves as a framework.

(1) Shittim (*cf.* **2**, 1) to the Jordan, six or seven miles. **3**, 1

(2) Probably J's account originally used *Ark of JHVH*, and E's: *Ark of the Covenant*, but editors and scribes have combined and confused the designations. The Greek Bible has carried the combination still further, and has almost everywhere *Ark of the Covenant of JHVH*. 3

In the detailed accounts of the movements of the Ark, here and in c. **6**, notice the entire absence of any reference to the Tabernacle (*Levit.*, p. 86, l. 26) and its elaborate furniture.

(3) That is, about a thousand yards (*cf.* note on Ezek. **40**, 5). In Num. **35**, 5 (P) this was to be the extent of the pasture-lands to be attached to the Levitical cities, measured outward from the city-walls. The Sabbath-day's journey of the NT (Acts **1**, 12) and of later Judaism was also two thousand cubits. 4

(4) A similar command is given in Ex. **19**, 14. 15 (JE), the only details given being that they should wash their clothes, and observe a special chastity. Special care would be taken to ensure the ceremonial cleanness of the people, and it would be accompanied by sacrifices. *Cf.* **7**, 13 and 1 Sam. **16**, 5. 5

(5) Compare Deuteronomy, chapter **2**, verse 25. 7

(6) Heb. *él khay*, only here in the Hexateuch; *living God* in Deut. **5**, 26 (Heb. 23) is a different phrase (*elohím khayyím*); *cf.* Hos. **1**, 10; Pss. **42**, 2; **84**, 2. 10

(7) In the Greek Bible: *wheat-harvest*; but as the flood-time is April, it must have been the barley-harvest, which is important in Palestine. In 1 Chr. **12**, 15 the river is flooded in the first month (Nisan = March–April). *Cf.* Sir. **24**, 26: *The Law makes understanding abound like the Jordan in the time of the harvest.* **3**, 15

(8) Readings vary between *at* Adam and *from* Adam. Adam (= *red*?) mentioned only here, has been identified with *ed-Dâmiye*, south of the mouth of the Jabbok (see p. 75, l. 7), opposite Qarn Çartabeh, the western point where the valley of the Jordan contracts to a narrow gorge, about 17 miles north of Jericho. The river might have been dammed up in this vicinity by an extensive slide of its high banks (CONDER). 16

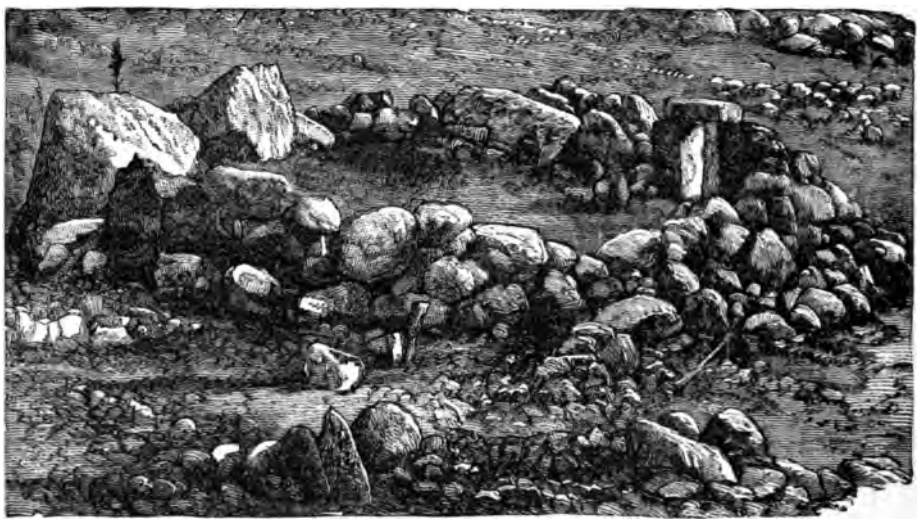
(9) Zaretan is the same as Zereda (see note on Jud. **7**, 22), the native place of Jeroboam. It cannot have been in the neighborhood of Beth-shean (*cf.* p. 84, l. 6), which is more than 40 miles north of Jericho, about 12 miles south of the Sea of Galilee; it must have been near Qarn Çartabeh, although the two names, *Zaretan* and *Çartabeh*, are not identical.

(10) Arabah = Desert, the Valley of the Jordan, and its continuation south of the Dead Sea. Between the Sea of Galilee and the Dead Sea, it is called by the Arabs *el-Ghôr*, while its southern part, between the Dead Sea and the eastern gulf of the Red Sea, still retains its ancient name *el-'Arabah* (cf. *Ezekiel*, p. 201, l. 53). Arabah is used elsewhere as a common noun for *desert*, or with qualifying words to form names for districts similar to the Arabah. The name of the Arabs is connected with this word, and means *Inhabitants of the Desert.*

(11) Salt Sea = Dead Sea; *cf.* notes on Ezek. **16**, 49; **47**, 8. 12.

Notes on Chapter 4.

(1) No instructions of Moses are extant with regard to the crossing of the Jordan. The scribe, or editor, who added this note merely expresses the **4**, 10



CROMLECH IN THE NEIGHBORHOOD OF HESHBON.

general idea that Joshua was in all things carrying out the Law and the orders of Moses; *cf.* note 1 on c. **1** (p. 56, l. 11[a]).

(2) The Greek Bible has *stones* for *priests*. 4, 11

(3) Compare chapter 1, verse 14. 12

(4) Only a part of the adult males, of whom there were (Num. 26, 7. 18. 34; also P) 136,930. 13

(5) Fulfilment of promise in 3, 7, expressed in almost identical terms. 14

(6) The Received Text has *Testimony* = the tables of the Law (see *Levit.*, p. 82, l. 2), a characteristic expression of P, due here to some scribe familiar with P's language. 16

(7) Abib or Nisan = March–April; see *Levit.*, p. 94, l. 21; p. 95, l. 17. 19

(8) According to Josephus and St. Jerome, about 1½ or 2 miles from Jericho; but probably to be identified with Tel Jeljûl, about half-way between Jericho and the Jordan. Tel Jeljûl is one of twelve small mounds of earth and *débris*. The name is usually interpreted *circuit*; it may, however, be a reduplicated form of *gal* 'stone-heap;' in either case it will refer to a stone circle or cromlech (*cf.* notes on Jud. 2, 1) similar to those still standing in large numbers in Palestine, especially in the region east of the Jordan. The cut on p. 60 represents á cromlech in the neighborhood of Heshbon, in the land of Moab (see *Isaiah*, p. 169, l. 14). Gilgal appears in later history as an important sanctuary or high-place (Jud. 3, 19; Hos. 4, 15; 9, 15; Amos 4, 4; 5, 5). There seem to have been other places of the same name (see 2 Kings 2, 1), but throughout Joshua the *Camp of Gilgal* must refer to this Gilgal. *Cf.* p. 69, l. 19.

(9) So RV; AV, following the vowels of the Received Text, *that ye might fear*. 24

Notes on Chapter 5.

(1) So Qĕrê (*cf.* p. vi, l. 3), Ancient Versions and some Heb. MSS; ARV with most Heb. MSS, *we* passed over; *cf.* v. 6. If *we* be original, it may be due to an unconscious lapse of R^D into the language of personal discourse, much of his matter consisting of speeches. If intentional, it marks the writer's identification of himself with the nation in its continuous history, and is not due to his being an eye-witness. 5, 1

(2) An account of the institution of circumcision by Joshua at Gilgal (ascribed to J^1 on account of its apparently ancient character). In Deuteronomy the use of the figure *circumcise your hearts*, in speeches ascribed to Moses (Deut. 10, 16; 30, 6), implies the pre-Mosaic institution of the rite, and in P the institution is ascribed to Abraham. The presence and importance of this discrepancy were a continual source of trouble to the editors; vv. 4–7 and the other redactional additions are due to successive attempts to harmonize this account with D and P. 2–9

According to some critics this narrative is not history, in the strict sense, because no commander would thus disable his army when on a campaign. It is a Temple story, explaining the origin of a custom (*Lev.*, p. 56, l. 6) observed by the tribe of Benjamin or some of its clans. Among them circumcision was performed at the sanctuary of Gilgal, and the circumcised remained at the sanctuary till they were healed. The *Hill of the Foreskins* was so called, because the foreskins were buried there. Many similar customs are reported from the South Seas and Africa. Among tribes that circumcise, the operation



EGYPTIAN STONE KNIVES.

is usually performed in a special locality, and the circumcised remain apart from the rest of the tribe before and after. 5

(3) A stone is the instrument of circumcision in Ex. 4, 25 (J). The ancient Egyptians also performed the operation with stone knives. The employment of a stone knife for the purpose of circumcision represents the survival of a primitive usage (*cf.* below, p. 63, l. 43) like the primitive ram's horn (Heb. *shofár*; see below, l. 47) in the service of the modern synagogue (LAGARDE, *Mittheil.*, 4, 192). See also *Ezek.* p. 192, l. 30. 2

(4) Verses 6.7 repeat the explanation in 4.5 in a slightly different form. The Greek Bible re-arranges and supplements these verses, stating that most of the armed men who came out from Egypt were uncircumcised. 4-7

(5) Compare the note on verse 1. 6

(6) Circumcision was regarded in Egypt as a mark of civilization. By this institution at Gilgal the *reproach of Egypt*, that Israel was barbarous because uncircumcised, was *rolled away*. 9

This quasi-etymology is a play upon the resemblance between *have I rolled away* (Heb. *gallóthi*) and *Gilgal.*

(7) Nisan, *cf.* 4, 19. In Ex. 12 (P) the preparations for the Passover begin on the 10th; P accordingly fixed the encampment at Gilgal on the 10th; hence the date in 4, 19. 10

(8) Compare Notes on Ezekiel, p. 199, l. 40. 11

(9) This section does not connect with what precedes, and ends abruptly (6, 2 is not the original continuation of 5, 15). It is apparently a fragment of ancient story, used by the compiler of JE (or of the Hexateuch?) to introduce the narrative of the Fall of Jericho; *cf.* the appearance of angels to Jacob in Gen. 32, 1. 2, which is equally foreign to its context and without sequel. 13-15

As the story now stands, no march to Jericho is noticed, and nothing is said about the war with the men of Jericho, 24, 11.

(10) Compare Numbers 22, 31 (J); 1 Chronicles 21, 16. 13

(11) Compare Exodus, chapter 3, verse 5. 15b

Notes on Chapter 6.

Note doublets: v. 5 (blowing of horns); command to shout (vv. 5.10); shouting (v. 20); destruction of city and contents (vv. 21.24); deliverance of Rahab (vv. 21.22 and 24.25). Note how vv. 17.18 interrupt the connection.

In J they compass the city once a day for 7 days (vv. 3.10.11); they shout at the command of Joshua. In E they compass the city 7 times on one day (vv. 4.12.13), rising early (v. 12) in order to have plenty of time; the Ark and the priests are prominent, and the signal for shouting is given by the horn (v. 5). There are also traces of a third story, used by E, according to which the signal, as in Ex. 19, 16, was given by a long (supernatural?) blast of a single horn. Accordingly v. 5 and parts of vv. 7 and 20 are ascribed to E^1.

R^{JE} and R^D have done their best to combine the two accounts into a continuous narrative; and some one with musical enthusiasm, after the manner of Chronicles, has thrown in a perpetual blowing of horns, which would have rendered the horns useless as a signal, and is excluded by vv. 6 and 16.

(1) As a precaution against surprise by the Israelites. 6, 1

(2) *Cf.* Ex. 19, 13. [These horns (Heb. *shofaróth*) were made of rams' horns and, as a rule, straightened and flattened by heat. The horns of any animal may be shaped either by heat or by boiling in oil. The bore of this 4

instrument is a cylindrical tube of small caliber, which opens into a kind of bell of parabolic form. The sound is produced by the blast of a volume of air, the lips, pressed against the orifice of the horn, acting as a reed. The shaping of the lips is difficult, and only three proper tones are usually obtained, although in some instances higher notes can be sounded. See CYRUS ADLER, *The Shofar* (Report of the U. S. National Museum for 1892, pp. 437-450), Washington, 1894, and *cf.* Notes on the Psalms, p. 222.— P. H.] 6

(3) Literally, *will fall under it*, that is, *in its place* or *where it stood*; *cf.* 1 Sam. **14**, 9; 2 Sam. **2**, 23; Jud. **7**, 21; Is. **25**, 10; Hab. **3**, 16; so, too, in v. 20. 5

(4) So Qĕrê, Peshita, Targum, Vulgate (*cf.* p. v, l. 26); Received Text: *and they said*, that is, the priests. 7

(5) RV following the Received Text: *And it was so, that when Joshua had spoken unto the people, the seven priests bearing the seven trumpets of rams' horns before the Lord passed on, and blew* &c. What was part of the directions has been transformed into a narrative. The present version virtually follows the Greek Bible. 8.9

(6) That is, before the Ark (*cf.* note 2 on c. **24**). 8

(7) The word *devoted* is here analogous to the Polynesian *taboo* and the Greek *anathema*, and signifies anything withdrawn from common use, and consecrated to JHVH (*cf.* Notes on Ezekiel, p. 104, ll. 21.32; p. 131, l. 8; p. 134, l. 44; p. 195, ll. 2.10). *Devoted* men and animals were killed, and *devoted* things either destroyed or given to the sanctuary; *cf.* Lev. **27**, 28; Num. **18**, 14, and Notes on Ezekiel, p. 135, l. 17; p. 196, l. 15; see also *Levit.*, p. 68, l. 42 and p. 69, l. 10, and *cf.* below, p. 65, l. 32. 17

(8) Hebrew consonants T-KH-M-D-W, $d = ד$, with LXX; RV *when ye have devoted it* (Heb. consonants T-KH-M-R-W, $r = ר$, with Received Text. *Cf.* notes on **9**, 4; **15**, 22; **19**, 10; **21**, 35; *Judges*, p. 70, l. 49; p. 90, l. 22; *Ezek.*, p. 108, l. 17. 18

(9) Compare Notes on Ezekiel, p. 151, l. 36. [Some bronze tools, which were found by Professor PETRIE at Gurob, Egypt, and which appear to belong to the Eighteenth Dynasty (about 1450 B. C.), contain about 7 per cent. of tin. In some of the earlier Egyptian alloys the quantity of tin is so small that they must be regarded rather as imperfectly purified copper than as bronze. The Assyrian bronze ornaments of the palace-gates at Balawât (see *Psalms*, p. 206, l. 10) contain about 11 per cent. of tin; and one of the bolts, which fastened the bronze bands to the wooden framework of the doors, contained a little more than 9 per cent., a proportion approaching that usually found in ancient bronze, as well as that of modern gun-metal. The bronze votive-tablet from the palace of Sargon (see *Isaiah*, p. 152) at Khorsabad contains about 10 per cent. of tin. As in Assyria and elsewhere, bronze seems to have been used by the Israelites for some time to the total exclusion of iron (*cf.* 1 Sam. **17**, 5.6.38; 1 Kings **4**, 13; Ps. **18**, 34 &c.; contrast Deut. **19**, 5; **27**, 5; Josh. **8**, 31 and the iron chariots of the Canaanites, Josh. **17**, 16); and between the stone age (*cf.* above, p. 62, l. 6) and the bronze age there must have been a copper age in which copper ores were smelted and used for implements &c. A small votive figure found at Telloh (*Ezek.*, p. 179, l. 43) is nearly pure copper, without any tin whatever. Most of the earliest copper objects, however, contain certain impurities which make the metal somewhat harder than refined copper. *Cf.* J. H. GLADSTONE, *On Copper and Bronze of Ancient Egypt and Assyria* in the *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archæology*, Mar. 4, 1890.— P. H.] 19

(10) As heathen and therefore unclean; *cf.* Num. **5**, 3; **31**, 19 (both P). 23

(11) If any man rebuilt Jericho, his firstborn son should die when the foundation was laid, and his youngest son when the fortifications were completed by setting up the gates. As Jericho is mentioned in Jud. **3**, 13 (*cf.* above, p. 58, l. 4) and in the time of David (about 1000 B. C.), 2 Sam. **10**, 5, 26

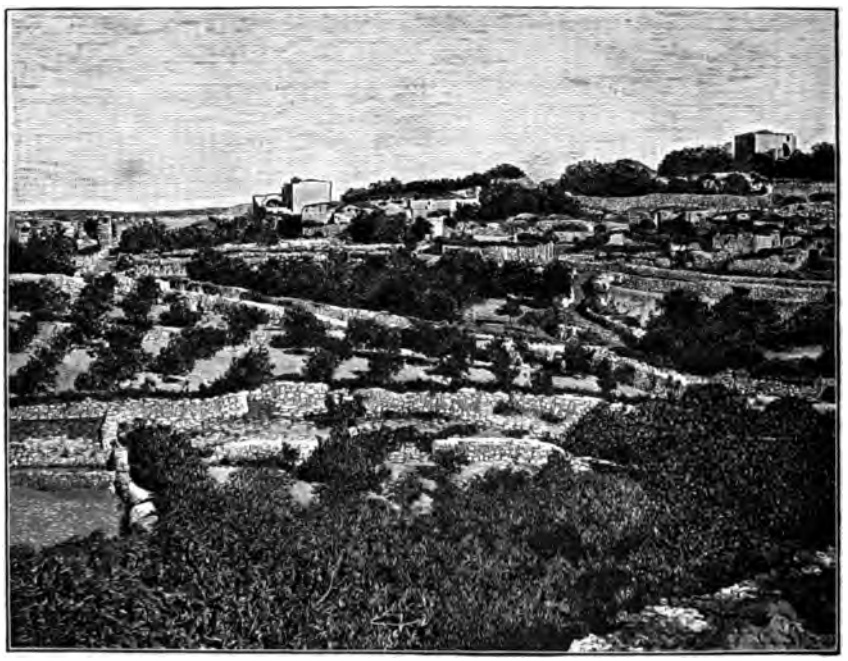
the curse apparently applied to fortifying the city. This was done by Hiel in **6** the time of Ahab (876–854 B. C.), and the fulfilment of the curse is recorded in 1 Kings **16**, 34; the Greek Bible inserts the fulfilment here also. In Neh. **7**, 36, among the Jews who returned from the captivity, are mentioned 345 of the Men of Jericho. The rebuilding of a city cut off by divine judgment is generally held to be sacrilege (*cf.* the curses pronounced on Troy and Carthage). About 596–586 B. C. the town and territory of Kirrha, in Phocis, SW of Delphi, were put under a curse for sacrilege against the sanctuary of Apollo at Delphi. Two centuries and a half afterward the rebuilding of Kirrha was the pretext for the Amphictyonic War (355–346 B. C.) in which Philip of Macedon overthrew the liberties of Greece.

In Job **15**, 28 Eliphaz gives as a proof of the reckless audacity of the wicked man, that *he dwelt in cities that had been cut off*. So Deut. **13**, 16 says of an idolatrous city: *It shall be a heap for ever, it shall not be built again.*

Notes on Chapter 7.

There are indications that two narratives are combined in this chapter, but the amalgamation is too well done to admit of complete analysis. Observe doublets in vv. 3. 7 = vv. 8. 9. 12. 15. 25, and see notes on these verses.

(1) 1 Chr. **2**, 7; Greek Bible and Josephus: *Achar*, an adaptation to the **7**, 1 name of the valley *Achor*; *cf.* v. 25, and 1 Kings **18**, 17. 18.



BETH-EL.

(2) *Ai* = 'Heap.' The name occurs as a landmark in connection with **2** Beth-el, Gen. **12**, 8; **13**, 3. Variously identified with a certain knoll, *et-Tel*, and other sites near Beth-el, most probably with *Haiyân*, two miles east of Beth-el, separated from it by a deep ravine. For Beth-el, see Gen. **12**, 8; Judges **1**, 22.

Our picture shows the modern village of *Bêtîn* (about four hours north of Jerusalem, on the road to Shechem; see Jud. **21**, 19), which occupies the site of the ancient Beth-el (that is, *House of God*), a sanctuary before the dawn of history, and the most important centre of worship in the Northern Kingdom. The hill on which *Bêtîn* stands rises in a series of terraces, or steps, which may have suggested the *ladder reaching to heaven* in Jacob's Dream. The ruined tower on the summit is built on ancient foundations. The modern *Bêtîn* consists of a few poor huts, amidst three or four acres of ruins. An enormous cistern (300 x 200 feet) is the chief relic of antiquity. The country is stony, and there are traces of cromlechs (see above, p. 61, l. 14). The hill rises to over 2800 feet; and one of the main roads from Jerusalem to the north has always run, and still runs, along its western slope (*cf.* above, l. 2). The earlier name of Beth-el was *Luz*; see **16**, 2; **18**, 13; Jud. **1**, 23. 7

(3) *Beth-aven* = 'House of Vanity;' omitted in the Greek Bible. In Hosea **4**, 15; **5**, 8; **10**, 5 it occurs as a name of contempt for Beth-el (*House of God*); but in Josh. **18**, 12; 1 Sam. **13**, 5; **14**, 23 it is mentioned in a way that seems to establish its separate existence. Its site is not identified.

(4) The suggestion that only a part of the people should go up, and the account of the flight and smiting, are both given twice over, probably through combination of sources. 3-5

(5) *Shebarim* = 'breakings' or 'broken places,' either natural, broken ground with ravines and precipices, or (as RV^{M}) artificial, *i. e.* quarries. Both quarries and ravines are numerous in the neighborhood. As a proper name the word occurs only here, and the site is not identified. 5

The LXX, Pesh., Targ. by a slight alteration of the vowels translate: *until they* (the Israelites) *were broken in pieces.*

(6) *Descent* (Heb. *Môrâd*). From Shebarim, which was probably on the edge of the plateau on which Ai stood, down the passage from which the Israelites had come.

(7) J's equivalent for v. 7 (E); note the new beginning in v. 8; Amorite in v. 7, Canaanite in v. 9; and *cf.* Jacob's fears in Gen. **34**, 30 (J). 8.9

(8) Note the contagious character of the taboo; cf. *Ezekiel*, p. 195, l. 2. 12

(9) Compare chapter **3**, verse 5. 13

(10) Before the Ark; *cf.* **6**, 8. 14

(11) By lot; *cf.* the election of Saul to the kingdom, 1 Sam. **10**, and the scene in 1 Sam. **14**. The tribes &c. are to be represented by their chiefs.

(12) RV, with the Received Text, *And he brought near the family of Judah, and he took the family of the Zarhites, and he brought near the family of the Zarhites, man by man, and Zabdi was taken, and he brought near his household, man by man* &c. &c. 17.18

The present version follows the Greek Bible, whose text is supported in some points by the Vulgate, Peshita, and some Heb. MSS.

(13) LXX and Peshita omit *my son.* 19

(14) Achan's confession showed that JHVH had discovered the offender, and that the defeat of Israel was not due to any failure of JHVH's power or faithfulness, but to the sin of Israel.

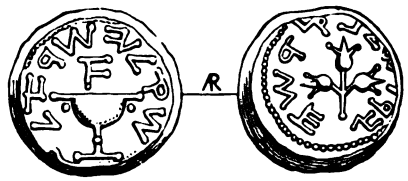
(15) RV^{M} *give praise.*

(16) Indicating that Achan's words are not given in full; *cf.* 2 Sam. **17**, 15. 20

(17) *Shinar* = Babylonia, *cf.* Gen. **10**, 10. LXX *many-colored*, that is, *embroidered robe*; Vulg. *scarlet robe*; suggesting the costly materials and elaborate workmanship of Babylonian wares. *Cf.* Notes on Ezekiel, p. 139, l. 51. 21

(18) The *shekel* is here a weight of metal (200 shekels = 8¾ lbs., 50 shekels = about 2½ lbs.); but the data as to the amount of this weight are obscure and inconsistent. The Phœnician shekel was about 224 grains; the Maccabean

shekels, as coins, weigh 218 grains, and are about the size of an English half-crown. The accompanying illustration represents a Jewish silver shekel, generally supposed to have been coined under Simon Maccabæus (B. C. 142-135), but it must probably be assigned to the time of the great rebellion of the Jews, A. D. 66-70 (see Notes on the Psalms, p. 219, l. 17; *cf. ibid.* p. 221, fig. *g*; p. 223, figs. *m*, *n*; p. 224, figs. *p*. *q*).



JEWISH SHEKEL.

The AR between the obverse and reverse means *argentum*, silver. On the obverse, with the goblet, we read, in Old Hebrew characters, שקל ישראל *Shekel of Israel*; the א above the goblet signifies *First Year*. On the reverse, with the lily (?),[a] we find: ירושלים קדושה *Jerusalem, the holy one*. *Cf.* notes on Lev. **27**, 3; Jud. **17**, 4; Ezek. **45**, 10-12. 7

(19) *Under it* and the absence of any reference to the gold in v. 22 suggest the introduction of the bar of gold from a second source. 22

(20) So RV following the Received Text. LXX, *Elders of Israel*. 23

(21) The Greek Bible omits the list of stolen things. The present position of *all Israel with him* suggests that the intervening words after Achan are an addition. There seem to be traces of two stories: in one, Achan alone was stoned (compare the provision of Deut. **24**, 16 that the children should not be punished with the parents), thus in v. 25 *they stoned him*; v. 26 the heap is erected *over him*; — in the other story he was treated according to the law of 'devotion' (see the note on **6**, 17), Deut. **13**, 15-17, and his family and possessions were burnt with him, thus v. 25 *they burnt them*. The two words for stoning in v. 26 are different, and the former is probably due to a redactor. 24

(22) Should be *him*. 24. 25

(23) Northern boundary of Judah **15**, 7; its desolation is implied in Hos. **2**, 15 *I will give her the Valley of Achor as a door of hope*, and Is. **65**, 10 *the Valley of Achor shall become a resting-place for herds*. Probably the Wâdy el-Qelt (*cf.* above, p. 58, l. 1) which leads from Jericho into the Hill-country. The plate facing p. 10 represents a wild gorge of this Wâdy. The ruins in the foreground are those of an ancient aqueduct, either one built by Herod to supply Jericho, or a later one which supplied some monastery. The scene of the stoning of Achan would not be this narrow gorge, but the more open part of the valley, where it debouches into the Plain of Jericho (*cf.* above, p. 58, l. 43). The meaning of the name *Achor* (AV^{M} *Trouble*, RV^{M} *Troubling*) is uncertain; it may have been *Desolation*. The narrator evidently derived the name from the verb *'achar*, translated in the preceding verse and in **6**, 18: *bring calamity upon*. 24. 26

(24) *Then JHVH relented* = Deuteronomy **13**, 17. 26

Notes on Chapter 8.

Note doublets: *arising to go up* (vv. 3 and 10; 9 and 13. 14); the emptying of the city (vv. 16. 17. 24).

In J the ambush is 30,000 (v. 3), in E, 5,000 (v. 12). — In J flight is feigned (vv. 5-7); in E it is real (v. 15). — In J the ambush set fire to the city (vv. 8. 20. 21); in E Joshua burns it. — In E they flee to the Wilderness (vv. 15. 20),

[a] According to some this 'lily' represents the budding rod of Aaron (Num. **17**, 8).

and rally when Joshua stretches out the javelin (vv. 18.19); in J they turn when they see the smoke of the city (v. 21).

(1) The fate of the king of Jericho has not been mentioned. 8, 2

(2) Agrees almost word for word with 11, 14 and Deut. 2, 35; 3, 7; 20, 14.

(3) From Gilgal to Ai (*cf.* the map on p. 71) was about 16 or 17 miles. 3

(4) In the ravine between Ai and Beth-el. 4

(5) *Cf.* v. 13, which was probably composed by the Redactor to harmonize with this verse. ARV, with Received Text, have *people* (one Heb. consonant less). 9

(6) Joshua and the Elders (that is, *chiefs*), v. 10. 13

(7) The main body, see verse 11.

(8) So Vulg. and Pesh., lit. *its heel*; ARV (with Targ.) *their liers in wait*, the word is apparently used in this sense in Ps. 49, 5, *the malice of mine oppossers surrounds me* (RV^{M} *them that would supplant me*). It has been suggested that an ambiguous word is used intentionally to indicate that the rear included one or both of the ambushes.

(9) As in v. 9 and some MSS here; ARV (with Received Text) *went*.

(10) This verse is omitted in the Greek Bible. It is obscure and confused, apparently an attempt by the Redactor to render it possible to interpret the two combined accounts as a single coherent narrative.

(11) Heb. *môrád* for *mô'éd*, of the Received Text, translated in ARV *time appointed*, RV^{M} *place appointed*; neither makes sense as the narrative stands. If *mô'éd* be the correct reading it must refer to something omitted by the Redactor. For *môrád* see above, p. 65, l. 27. 14

(12) Usually the name of the Jordan valley (*cf.* above, p. 60, l. 17); here commonly understood of some desert tract opposite Ai and identical with the *Wilderness* in vv. 15.20.24, and possibly with the Wilderness of Beth-aven in 18, 12; but this view is improbable. Here, again, if the reading be correct, we have an obscurity due to the redaction. The Greek Bible omits the clause *to the mô'éd opposite the Arabah*.

(13) ARV *made as if they were beaten*, but there is no suggestion in E that they only pretended to flee. 15

(14) Desolate country east of Ai.

(15) *Cf.* Ex. 17, 11, where similarly Moses' hand is uplifted till the battle is over. 26

(16) It was apparently rebuilt, possibly on a neighboring site; in Ezra 2, 28 we read of *the men of Beth-el and Ai*. 28

(17) Complies with the laws in Deut. 13, 16; 21, 22.23. It need not, however, be referred to R^{D}; these passages probably give ancient customs which were incorporated in the Deuteronomic Code. 29

(18) For the *gate*, see Notes on Ezekiel, p. 178, l. 20.

(19) For the *altar*, see Notes on Ezekiel, p. 106, l. 51.

(20) The *peace-offerings* were sacrificial meals; see *Levit.*, p. 65, l. 9. 31

(21) Not the stones of the altar, but the stones described in Deut. 27, 1-4, to which the writer is referring. "The letters were not to be carved in the stone (as is usually the case in ancient inscriptions), but to be inscribed, with some suitable pigment, upon a prepared surface coated with lime or gypsum. This practice was Egyptian. In Egypt it was the custom to put a layer of stucco, or paint, over the stone used in architecture, of whatever quality, even granite; and in the case of sandstone, which was porous, a coat of calcareous composition was laid on before the paint was applied. The black pigment, used in Egypt, consisted of bone-black of ivory; and figures, or characters, 32

inscribed by this method were very permanent (*cf.* above, p. 49, l. 26). It was a common custom in antiquity to engrave laws upon slabs of stone or metal, and to set them up in some public place. At Carthage the regulations respecting sacrifices were thus engraved. In Greece such slabs were called *stelæ*; many laws and decrees of Athens, and other Greek states, so inscribed, have been discovered during recent years" (DRIVER on Deut. **27**, 2). **8**



FRAGMENT OF CARTHAGINIAN SACRIFICIAL TABLET.

(22) In Deut. *this law*, with no clear indication of its contents, but probably the Deuteronomic Code, Deut. **12-26**. The later Jews called Deuteronomy itself *the duplicate of the Law*.

(23) In Deut. **27**, the curses come first and the main emphasis is laid on them. **33**

(24) Shechem between Ebal and Gerizim (see full-page illustrations facing pp. 18. 20 of *Judges*) is about 20 miles N of Ai; in c. **9** the army is again at Gilgal. Nothing is said about either of these long marches through an unconquered country. The incident is not only a late insertion but without any historical probability. **35**

Notes on Chapter 9.

Note triplet, v. 15; and doublets, vv. 6^a and 8^a; 16^b and 17^a; 18 and 26.—Also (i) J has *Men of Israel* (vv. 6.14^a); E, *Joshua* (vv. 3. 6. 8. 15); P, *Princes of the Congregation* (v. 15 &c.).—(ii) J, *treaty* (vv. 6. 16); E, *peace* (v. 15).—(iii) J, *Hivites* (v. 7); E, *Inhabitants of Gibeon* (v. 3).—(iv) E, *thy servants* (vv. 8. 11).

In vv. 15. 17-21 the ignoring of Joshua shows that this section does not belong to the main body of P in *Joshua*, in which Joshua is always introduced, as subordinate, however, to Eleazar (**14**, 1; **19**, 51; **21**, 1); *cf.* **22**, 13, where Joshua is similarly ignored.

According to the Priestly Code the servants of the altar were the Levites (*cf.* notes on Ezek. **44**, 11. 14); accordingly P^* (*cf.* above, p. 46, l. 7) changes the Gibeonites into *wood-cutters and water-carriers*.

(1) The present *el-Jib* on a little isolated hill about 18 miles W of Gilgal, about 7 miles SW of Ai, and about 5 miles SE of Upper Beth-horon (*cf.* notes **9, 3**

10 and 12 on c. 10). The remains of an old fortress and a few scattered hovels 9
stand on the top of the hill whose sides are terraced for vineyards and covered
with olives, figs, and pomegranates (see the plate facing p. 14).

(2) So following the Ancient Versions; ARV, following the Received Text, 4
made as if they had been ambassadors. The reading of the Versions has *d* = ד
where the Received Text has *r* = ר (*cf.* note on **6**, 18); there is no other
difference. The word in the Received Text is found only here, and if read,
its meaning would be very doubtful.

(3) Literally *bound up* (so ARV), that is, the edges of a rent were tied
around with string. Wine-skins (*cf.* the illustration on p. 92) are mended in the
East by being *bound up* in this way, or patched, or even by covering the holes
with round, flat pieces of wood.

(4) Heb. *niqqûdim*; Vulg., Targ., Aquila *crumbled*; ARV, with LXX, 5
mouldy. Niqqûdim were part of the present Jeroboam's wife took to the prophet
Abijah, with barley loaves and honey (1 Kings **14**, 3); the word is there trans-
lated *cracknels* in ARV. *Things dry and broken* might apply to stale bread
and equally to hard biscuits or crackers. [Contrast the fresh fig produced by
Cato in the Senate to illustrate the proximity of Carthage (Pliny **15**, 20).— P. H.]

(5) The Gilgal of the first encampment; suggestions that this is a second 6
Gilgal are quite unnecessary, and arise simply from a desire to interpret the
narrative, so as to connect RD's addition **8**, 30-35 with the earlier narratives
between which it has been placed. *Cf.* above, p. 61, l. 21.

(6) No king is mentioned; apparently Gibeon was under family or patri- 11
archal government.

(7) *Third day* (omitted in the Greek Bible), a distance of about 18 miles 17
as the crow flies (*cf.* v. 3), but longer by rough, hilly roads. In **10**, 9 Joshua
went up from Gilgal to Gibeon in a single night.

(8) *Cf.* **18**, 25-28; Chephirah (that is, *Village*) = *Kefire* about five miles
SW of Gibeon; Beeroth (that is, *Cisterns*; *cf.* the name *Beyroot*, see above,
p. 53, l. 21) perhaps = *el-Bire*, about four miles NE of Gibeon; Kirjath-jearim
(that is, *City of Woods*), probably *Qaryet el-'Ineb*, about two miles south of
Chephirah, *cf.* **15**, 9 and Notes on Judges, p. 91, note 22.

(9) RV: *And the princes said unto them, Let them live: so they became* 21
hewers of wood and drawers of water unto all the congregation; as the princes
had spoken unto them.

(10) Saul made an unsuccessful attempt to extirpate the Gibeonites (2 Sam. 26
21, 1); later on, they seem to have been merged in Israel: in Neh. **7**, 25 the
Gibeonites are included in the list of those who returned from the Captivity
without being in any way distinguished from the rest of the Jews.

(11) Compare Deuteronomy **12**, 5 and *passim.* 27

Notes on Chapter 10.

In the E portions, note *Amorites*, and, as in E of c. 9, *inhabitants of Gibeon*
(v. 1); *made peace* (vv. 1.4).— As v. 15 is out of place before v. 21, vv. 12-15
were apparently a general note appended to the conclusion of the narrative at
v. 27; parts of vv. 12-14 are from an ancient source containing material similar
in character to J[1] (or vv. 16-27 is mainly J). V. 15 (as D in v. 43) brings Israel
back to Gilgal after each campaign.— The section vv. 28-39 (D) rests on a basis
of JE, and bears the traces of more than one redaction. Note the frequent
redundancies of expression and the broken constructions (vv. 28.35.37 &c.).

(1) LXX throughout *Adoni-bezek*, as in Jud. 1, 5-7; the author of *Judges* **10**, 1
seems to have understood that Adoni-zedec was king of Bezek, Jud. 1, 5.

Adoni-zedec, according to traditional pronunciation, = *Lord of Righteousness*, originally: *Zydyc* (a Canaanite deity) *is my Lord*. *Cf.* Melchizedek, Gen. **14**, 18. The proposal to substitute Adoni-zedec for an obscure name in the Amarna Tablets (see above, p. 47, l. 25; p. 54, note [a]) is a mere conjecture. 10

(2) Jerusalem = *Salem* of Melchizedek; mostly in early books *Jebus*, *City of the Jebusites*, *Jebusi*. [Jerusalem = *Irusalim*, a byform of the oldest form, *Urusalim*, found in the Amarna Tablets (*cf.* above, p. 54, l. 19). The meaning of the name seems to be *City of Safety*. *Uru* = *city* in Sumerian (that is, the idiom of the non-Semitic aborigines of Babylonia); *cf.* Ur of the Chaldees, Gen. **11**, 28. 31; **15**, 7; Neh. **9**, 7. The later form of the old Sumerian *uru*, *ur* 'city' is *eri*, *er*, *ir*, which has passed into Hebrew as *'ir*, the common Hebrew word for *city*. The traditional rendering of Jerusalem, *City of Peace*, is inaccurate. *Cf.* Critical Notes on the Heb. text of Isaiah, p. 100.—P. H.]

(3) Probably cities with smaller towns dependent on them; *cf.* above, p. 54, l. 28. 2

(4) These five cities are spread over a large area of Southern Palestine. *Hebron* is about 19 miles south of Jerusalem. The plate facing p. 16 shows the modern town *el-Khalîl*, which is east of the site of the ancient Israelite city of Hebron. The modern Arabic name is an abbreviation of *Khalîl Allâh*, 'The Friend of God,' that is, Abraham (Is. **41**, 8; 2 Chr. **20**, 7; Jas. **2**, 23). The large building to the right, marked by the tall minarets at each end, is the Great Mosque, Arab. *Ḥarâm*, which encloses the traditional Cave of Machpelah and the graves of Abraham and Sarah, Isaac and Rebekah, and Jacob and Leah. The minarets and the outer wall (which is about 200 feet long by 115 feet square, and upward of 50 feet high, without a single window or opening of any kind except the doorways to the north) are Saracenic, but the lofty inner wall is at any rate older than the Christian era, and has been ascribed even to Solomon. Hebron is no doubt one of the oldest existing cities in the world (*cf.* Num. **13**, 22 and note on Ps. **78**, 12). See Gen. **23**, 20 and the picture (facing p. 16 of *Isaiah*) of the 'Oak of Abraham,' the famous holm-oak (about a mile and a half west of Hebron) which is 22 feet in circumference. 3

(5) Jarmuth = *Yarmûk*, about 18 miles SE of Jerusalem, NW of Bêt-Nettîf.

(6) The site and important remains of Lachish have been recently recovered at *Tel-el-Hesy* (*cf.* note on Is. **37**, 8 and see above, p. 53, l. 26[b]), about two miles south of Eglon, while the name is preserved at *Umm-lâqis*, two miles west of Eglon. The proposed identification of this Japhia, King of Lachish, with a king of Gezer (*cf.* v. 33) of similar name (*Iapakhi*) mentioned in the Amarna Tablets is precarious.

(7) Eglon (the modern *'Ajlân*) is about 20 miles west of Hebron.

(8) Not certainly identified, coupled with Socoh in **15**, 35; 1 Sam. **17**, 1, and with Lachish in 2 Chr. **11**, 9; Neh. **11**, 30; Jer. **34**, 7. Possibly *Zakaryâ* close to Jarmuth, or *Bir-ez-zâgh* north of Socoh (?). 10

(9) Possibly *el-Mughâr* (that is, 'The Cave'), about 17 miles SW of Beth-horon, close to Ekron. There are caves at el-Mughâr.

(10) Attacking from the SE, Israel drove the Canaanites NW, along the road past the two Beth-horons to the coast; then apparently the fugitives turned southward, in order later on to make for the Hill-country on the east and regain their own cities. Upper Beth-horon (*Bêt 'Ûr*), 2000 feet above sea level, is five miles NW of Gibeon; Lower Beth-horon (500 feet lower) is about two miles further on; from the latter there is a steep and rough descent to the Mediterranean Plain. Beth-horon was the scene of a great victory of Judas Maccabæus over the Syrians (B. C. 166) and of another of the insurgent Jews over Cestius Gallus in A. D. 66. Our picture shows the decayed modern village of *Bêt 'Ûr el-Fôqa*, which stands on the site of the ancient *Upper Beth-horon*. 11

It is perched on the crest and steep side of the hill, on hard grey limestone, 10
and beyond it we see something of a straggling olive grove. In the distance, on the left, are the coast line and the waters of the Mediterranean; and between Beth-horon and the Sea, the Shephelah (see *Judges*, p. 49, l. 12) and

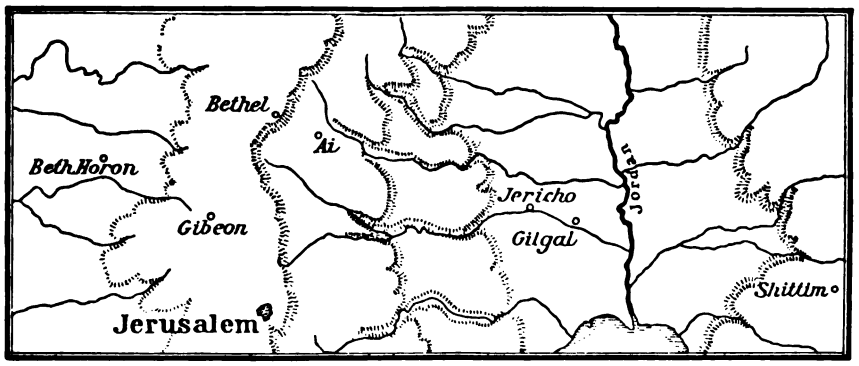


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UPPER BETH-HORON.

5 the Maritime plain. *Lower Beth-horon* is hidden by the hill on which Upper Beth-horon stands.

(11) So the Battle of the Frigidus (that is, the river Wippach, S of Göritz and N of the Gulf of Trieste) by which Theodosius regained Italy for Christen-



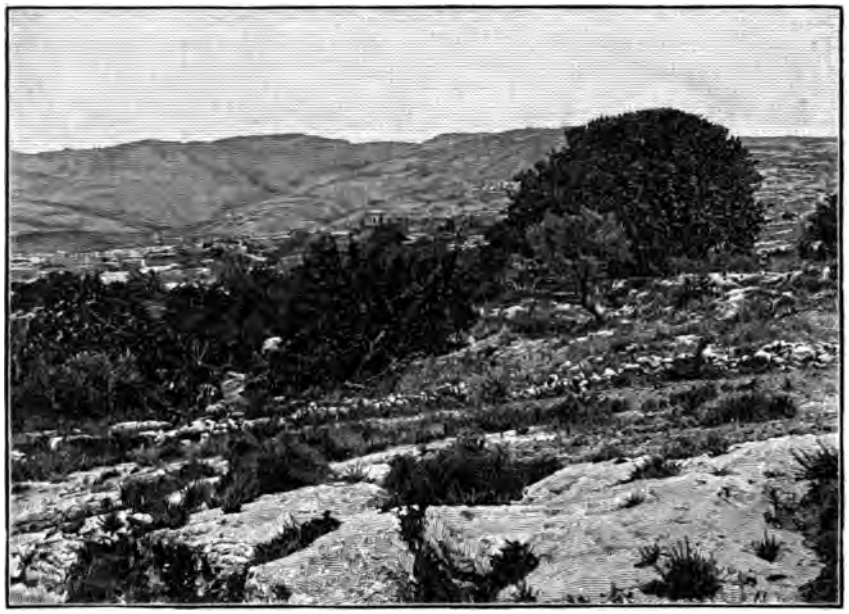
REGION BETWEEN GILGAL AND BETH-HORON.

dom (394 A. D.) is said to have been decided by the Bora or north-east wind,
10 which blew in the faces of the enemy.

(12) Joshua was on the Beth-horon ridge, with Gibeon on the SE and the 12
Valley of Ajalon to the SW, running from Beth-horon toward the sea. It was

something before noon (*cf.* v. 13), the sun was still in the East, the setting moon in the West. The subjoined picture shows part of the valley of *Ajalon*, with the modern village which preserves the ancient name in the form *Yâlô*. It stands on a hill at the southern end of the valley, the end furthest from Beth-horon. The valley is a broad stretch of corn-land. The name Ajalon occurs in the Amarna Tablets in the forms *Aialûna* and *Ialûna*.

(13) The quotation is poetic and figurative, as in the Song of Deborah, Jud. 5, 20, *the stars fought against Sisera*; it seems, however, to have been misunderstood and taken literally by subsequent editors. It means simply: *May God grant us victory before the sun sets.* Similarly Agamemnon prays to Zeus that the sun may not set before Priam's dwelling is overthrown (*Il.* **2**, 413 ff.). At the bidding of Athene, the sunset was delayed for the sake of Ulysses (*Od.* **23**, 241 ff.) and, on another occasion, hastened at the command of Hera, in order to save the Greeks (*Il.* **18**, 239 ff.). Of course, if there were an adequate



AJALON.

motive for a miracle here, or any appreciable evidence that a miracle took place, scientific objections would be irrelevant because, from the very idea of a miracle, its physical antecedents and mechanism are unintelligible and cannot be discussed. But there is no reason to suppose that the narrative originally stated that a miracle happened.

(14) Mentioned 2 Sam. 1, 18 as containing David's Lament over Saul and Jonathan; and, according to a probable interpretation of a reading in the Greek Bible, in 1 Kings 8, 53, as containing a poetic utterance of Solomon. Hence a collection of poems, and possibly also narratives, made soon after the time of Solomon (about 930 B. C.). *Jashar* (upright), either (as *Jeshurun*) a poetic title of Israel (*cf.* note on Is. 44, 2), or a collective term = heroes, *cf.* the *Nine Worthies* (Hercules, Hector, &c.).

(15) RV *the remnant which remained of them.*

(16) *Cf.* Ex. 11, 7; Is. 10, 14. The Received Text would mean: *·None· moved his tongue against the Israelites, against ·any· man ·of them·.*

(17) *Cf.* Ps. 110, 1. In Assyrian wall-sculptures we often see kings putting 10, 24
their feet on the necks of prostrate enemies. In the famous monument of Darius Hystaspes (B. C. 521–486), on the rock of Behistun (between Baghdâd and Hamadân), the king places his foot on the stomach of a prostrate rebel.

(18) *Cf.* the treatment of the King of Ai in 8, 29. 26

(19) Not identified; somewhere in the Lowland of Judah; it cannot have 29
been very far from Lachish (see above, p. 70, l. 33); *cf.* Is. 37, 8 (see *Isaiah*, p. 49, l. 30; p. 165, l. 50).

(20) The modern *Tel-Jezer*, between Beth-horon and Ekron. According 33



ASSYRIAN KING PUTTING HIS FOOT ON THE NECK OF A PROSTRATE ENEMY.

to 16, 10 and Jud. 1, 29 Israel did *not* conquer Gezer, and in 1 Kings 9, 15–17 Gezer is taken by the King of Egypt, and given to Solomon.

(21) Killed already in vv. 23. 26. Hebron and Debir are again taken by 37
Joshua, 11, 21; and by Caleb and Othniel, 15, 13–17 (*cf.* 14, 12–14); Jud. 1, 10–13. The king of Debir is included in the list of conquered kings in 12, but not the king of Hebron.

(22) Also Kirjath-sepher, 15, 15; and Kirjath-sannah, 15, 49; not certainly 38
identified, possibly *ed-Dâhariye* about 12 miles SW of Hebron, on the southern edge of the Hill-country (*cf.* notes on Jud. 1, 11).

(23) The desert plain of the south; see *Judges*, p. 49, l. 8. 40

(24) *Cf.* Gen. 14, 7 and Notes on Psalms, p. 177, l. 2. 41

(25) *Cf.* Gen. 10, 19 and the full-page illustration facing p. 30 of *Judges*.

(26) Mentioned only here; some district in Southern Palestine, not at present identified. No connection with the Egyptian Goshen or the town in 15, 51.

Notes on Chapter 11.

Verses 1–15, R^D on a basis of E, there being probably other fragments of E besides those indicated; vv. 21. 22 a Deuteronomic addition to R^D's edition of Joshua.

(1) This narrative is probably a variant of the history in Jud. 4. 5; *cf.* 11, 1
Notes on Judges, p. 60, ll. 38. 43; p. 61, ll. 6. 16. 31 ff.

(2) The identification of this *Jabin* with the king of Hazor (*Abdi-tirshi*?) in the Amarna Tablets is more than doubtful.

(3) These sites have not been identified with any certainty. *Hazor* is given to Naphtali (19, 36) and is said by Josephus to be near Lake Ḥûle (*cf.* note 7),

in the western neighborhood of which it may be placed (see *Judges*, p. 61, l. 43). 11
Madon (LXX *Maron*; *cf.* p. 63, l. 27) may be *Madîn* close to the Horns of Hattîn, a little W of the Sea of Galilee (see p. 75, l. 11).—*Shimron*, given to Zebulun in 19, 15, has been identified with *Semîrîye* on the sea-coast, near Accho, and with *Semûniye* near Nazareth.—*Achshaph*, given to Asher 19, 25, has been identified with *Iksâf*, a little south of the Leontes (*el-Litâny*; see below, note 6).—As the five cities of cc. 9. 10 were spread over a wide area in the South, so these four represent a wide area in the North, including the territory afterward occupied by Asher, Naphtali, and Zebulun.

(4) That is, the Carmel range E and N of Dor, a Phœnician port about 2
fifteen miles south of Carmel.

(5) Elsewhere (Gen. 34, 2; Josh. 9, 7) only in Central Palestine. 3

(6) Not identified; the land or valley (v. 8) is apparently the valley of the Litâny (*el-Litâni*, the upper course of the *Nahr el-Qâsimîye*, N of Tyre) between the Lebanon and the Hermon (see the illustration facing p. 146 of *Psalms*).

(7) Only here and v. 7; commonly assumed and marked in maps as Lake 5
Ḥûle, which makes a third in the chain of lakes with the Dead Sea and the Sea of Galilee; but this assumption is not supported by any conclusive evidence. *Mêrôn*, about four miles W of Çâfed (*cf.* p. 75, l. 15), has no waters to speak of and no level ground for chariots. Josephus locates the battle near Kadesh not far from Lake Ḥûle (*cf.* p. 75, l. 41), but substitutes a city *Berotha* for the Waters of Merom. Lake Ḥûle is about four miles long and four broad; a reedy marsh stretches for more than six miles further north. The lake and marsh lie in a valley about sixteen miles long by six broad. The snow-capped summits, in the background of our picture facing p. 18, belong to the Lebanon.

(8) *Cf.* Gen. 49, 13; probably the main town as distinguished from some 8
secondary or dependent *Lesser Zidon*. Sennacherib (B. C. 705-681), in the cuneiform account of his campaign against Hezekiah of Judah (701 B. C.), mentions both *Çîdûnu rabû* and *Çîdûnu çikhru* (Great and Lesser Zidon). *Cf.* the full-page illustration facing p. 48 of *Ezekiel*.

(9) That is, *Burnings of the Waters*, hot springs or glass manufactories, which were common among the Phœnicians; either Sarepta between Tyre and Sidon, or *'Ain-Mesherfe* at the southern end of the rocks of the so-called Ladder of Tyre (*Scala Tyriorum*, Joseph., *War*, ii, 10, 2; Arab. *Râs en-Nâqûra*).

(10) *Cf.* Jer. 30, 18 *the city shall be built upon its own mound*; the most 13
important cities were built on natural or artificial elevations. Assyrian buildings were regularly placed upon artificial mounds; *cf.* note on Ezek. 41, 5. In modern Palestine *tel* is the name for the mounds that mark the site, and often contain the ruins, of ancient cities.

(11) RV^{M} *bare mountain*, some hitherto unidentified mountain in the 17
extreme South of Palestine; also 12, 7.

(12) *Cf.* 12, 7; 13, 5, often identified with *Bâniâs* (*Paneas* or *Cæsarea Philippi*, the northernmost point Jesus visited, Matth. 16, 13; Mark 8, 27; *cf.* Notes on Ezekiel, p. 201, l. 39); but some site nearer Lebanon would seem more suitable.

(13) Compare chapter 10, verse 37. 20

(14) ARV *Sons of Anak*, giving the erroneous impression that Anak was 21
the name of the father of these giants. The phrase signifies *men of great stature* (lit. *of long neck*); *cf.* Num. 13, 22 and Notes on Judges, p. 49, l. 19; p. 50, l. 9.

(15) *Cf.* 15, 50; there are ruins so named (*'Anâb*) about 9 miles SW of Hebron.

(16) For *Gaza* see above, note 25 on chapter 10. 22

(17) *Cf.* **13**, 3; site not certainly known, often identified with *Tel-eç-Çâfiye* **11** about 10 miles SE of Ashdod. This site would fairly agree with the various notices of Gath.

(18) *Cf.* **13**, 3 &c., = *Esdûd* near the coast, between Ekron and Gaza.

Notes on Chapter 12.

(1) See Deuteronomy, chapter **3**, verses 8-13. **12**, 1-6

(2) For the *Arnon* and the *Jabbok*, see notes on Jud. **11**, 13 and the illustrations *ibid.*, p. 78.

(3) For the *Arabah* see above, p. 60, l. 17. The *Sea of the Arabah* is the Dead Sea; *cf.* Notes on Ezekiel, pp. 128 and 202.

(4) That is, the *Sea of Galilee* (the Lake of Gennesareth), the chief scene of our Lord's ministry. This lake is 655 feet below the level of the Mediterranean, and owing to this great depth the climate is almost tropical. It is about 12½ miles long and 6¾ wide. In our picture, facing p. 20, we look across from the heights of Çâfed (*cf.* p. 74, l. 20) to the eastern cliffs, nearly 2000 feet high, which are the outworks, so to speak, of the great table-land of Bashan. The name *Chinnéreth* (plur. *Chinnerôth*) means *harp* (see *Psalms*, p. 222, l. 23). For the use of the plural form see *Ezekiel*, p. 157, l. 21. 3

(5) See chapter **11**, verses 16-18. 7. 8

(6) In c. **10**, where the captures of Lachish, Eglon, Jarmuth, and Hebron are expressly mentioned, that of Jerusalem is not. In Jud. **1**, 8 it is taken by the Judahites, and in Josh. **18**, 28 it is counted among the cities of Benjamin; but in Josh. **15**, 63 and Jud. **1**, 21 we are told that it was *not* taken. It was finally taken by David, 2 Sam. **5**, 6-8. 10

(7) Mentioned only here; some hitherto unidentified site in Southern Palestine. 13

(8) Num. **14**, 45. (9) Num. **21**, 1. (10) Gen. **38**, 1. 14. 15

(11) *Tappuah* (**16**, 8 = En-tappuah **17**, 7) and *Hepher* (1 Kings **4**, 10) are unknown sites in Central Palestine. 17

(12) Not identified, apparently toward the north, possibly = Aphek of Asher (**19**, 30; Jud. **1**, 31), which was *not* taken. 18

(13) RV *one; the king of Lasharon.* No such city is known. Some read *the king of Sharon*, either the district of Sharon or a city of that name, *e. g.* (Conder) the present ruin *Sáróná*, a little SW of the Sea of Galilee.

(14) *Shimron-meron* = *Shimron*; *cf.* **11**, 1. 20

(15) *Cf.* **17**, 11; **21**, 25; = *Ta'annak*, on the southern edge of the Plain of Esdraelon (or Jezreel); *cf.* Notes on Judges, p. 50, l. 20; p. 69, l. 36. 21

(16) *Cf.* **17**, 11 = *Lejjûn* to the NW of Taanach (see Notes on Judges, p. 50, l. 22); *Mujedda'* near Beth-shean (p. 84, l. 6) has been proposed, but this identification is not probable (*cf.* G. A. Smith, *Hist. Geography*, p. 387).

(17) *Cf.* **19**, 37, Kedesh-Naphtali = *Qedes* (Kadesh), NW of Lake Ḥûle (*cf.* p. 74, l. 22). 22

(18) *Cf.* **19**, 11; **21**, 34; = *Tel-Qaimûn* at NW end of Esdraelon (see l. 37).

(19) *Nations* (RV *Goiim*), that is, the Gentiles. 23

(20) So with LXX, RV (*cf.* Is. **9**, 1); Received Text: *Gilgal.*

(21) Variously identified with *Tallûza*, 6 miles E of Samaria, and with *Tayâçîr*, NE of Thebez (Jud. **9**, 50); contrast p. 76, No. 30. 24

(22) The Received Text has *thirty-one*; the alteration of the words *the king of Lasharon* in v. 18, however, reduces the total to 30. The Greek Bible further omits Makkedah (*cf.* note on **10**, 10) and reads the total as 29.

General Geographical Note

TO CHAPTERS 13–24.

For convenience of reference the names of cities in the second part of the Book of Joshua are given in an alphabetical list. Where a site has been identified, with at least strong probability, the modern name of the site is given (in *Italics*), with some indication of its position; otherwise the name is given without comment. The distances and directions are intended to help the reader to find the places upon a map, and are often only roughly approximate.

The majority of these names are not mentioned as the scenes of any events, but given only in the various gazetteer portions of the OT; many of them occur only in Joshua and at times in only a single passage.

Identification depends on: (i) Similarity of ancient and modern names.—(ii) Suitability of position, as regards the tribe or district; or as being in the neighborhood of cities mentioned in connection.—(iii) Statements of Josephus, Talmud, St. Jerome, and other ancient authorities.

Nearly all of these sites have been the subject of many plausible conjectures, and yet there are comparatively few identifications that are absolutely certain. It is only with hesitation that identifications based on existing names can be carried back beyond the Captivity (597–537 B. C.). There may be continuity of name between an ancient and a modern city, and yet no continuity of site: families returning from Babylon might give to a new settlement the name of their old home.

Note that the information given is full and detailed with regard to Judah and Benjamin, the main settlement of the restored community. Galilee, the other settlement of the Jews of the Restoration, is described with less completeness and clearness, under Zebulun, Issachar, Asher, and Naphtali. The account of Ephraim and Western Manasseh, *i. e.* the Samaritan territory, is extremely meagre and confused.

Alphabetical List of Cities

mentioned in cc. 13–24.

ABDON = *'Abde*, 10 miles NE of Accho.
ABEZ.
ACCHO (19, 30) = *'Akkâ*, N of *Haifâ*.
ACHSHAPH (11, 1).
ACHZIB i (in Asher) = *ez-Zîb*, on the coast, 8 miles N of Accho.
ACHZIB ii (in Judah). [Tiberias.
ADAMAH = *Dâmiye* (?), 5 miles SW of
ADAMI-NEKEB = *Adma* (?), 5 miles SW
ADAR (15, 3). [of Sea of Galilee.
ADITHAIM.
ADULLAM (Gen. 38, 1).
ADUMMIM = *Tel'at-ed-Dam*; between
AIJALON or [Jerusalem and Jericho.
AJALON = *Yâlô*, 4 miles SW of Beth-
ALAMMELECH. [horon.
ALMON = *'Almît*, 4 miles NE of Jeru-
AMAD. [salem.
AMAM.
ANAB (11, 21). [Jezreel.
ANAHARATH = *Na'ûra*, 6 miles NE of
ANATHOTH = *'Anâtâ*, 3 miles NE of Jerusalem.
ANIM = *Ghuwên*, 10 miles S of Hebron.
APHEK (12, 18; 13, 4; 19, 30), number and situations of towns of this name uncertain.
APHEKAH = APHEK of 12, 18 (?).
ARAB. [sheba.
ARARAH = *Ar'âra*, 8 miles SE of Beer-
AROER (Deut. 2, 36).
ASHAN.
ASHDOD (11, 22).
ASHER (17, 7) = *Tayâçîr*, northeast of Thebez (?); contrast p. 75, l. 47.
ASHNAH (two cities).

ASHTAROTH (Deut. 1, 4).
ATAROTH i (16, 7).
ATAROTH ii (16, 2) or ATAROTH-ADDAR (16, 5; 18, 13) = *'Atâra*, N of Jerusalem, between *er-Râm* and *Râm-*
AVIM = AI (?). [*allâh*.
AZEKAH (10, 10).
AZEM.
AZMON.
AZNOTH-TABOR.

BAALAH i (15, 9) = KIRJATH-JEARIM.
BAALAH ii (15, 29) = BALAH (19, 3).
BAALATH = *Bel-'Ain* in the Plain of
BAALATH-BEER. [Sharon (?).
BAAL-GAD (11, 17).
BALAH = BAALAH ii.
BAMOTH-BAAL (Num. 21, 19).
BAZAANIM (19, 33).
BEALOTH.
BEEROTH (9, 17).
BEER-SHEBA (Gen. 21, 14).
BEESH-TERAH = ASHTAROTH. [Joppa.
BENE-BERAK = *Ibn-Ibrâq*, 5 miles E of
BETEN = *B'ane*, 12 miles E of Accho.
BETH-ANATH = *'Ainîtha*, 6 miles NW of Kedesh-Naphtali (?). [bron.
BETH-ANOTH = *Bêt-'Ainûn*, NE of He-
BETH-ARABAH. [32, 36.
BETH-ARAM = BETH-HARAN (?), Num.
BETH-AVEN (7, 2).
BETH-BAAL-MEON or BAAL-MEON (Num. 32, 38; Ezek. 25, 9) = *Mê'in*, E of Dead Sea.
BETH-DAGON i (15, 41) = *Bêt-Dejan* between Lydda and Joppa (?).
BETH-DAGON ii (19, 27).
BETH-EL (Gen. 12, 8).
BETH-EMEK.
BETHER (15, 59) = *Bittîr*, SW of Jerusalem, 2 hours W of Beth-lehem.
BETH-HOGLAH = *Qaçr-Hajle*, SE of
BETH-HORON (10, 10). [Jericho.
BETH-JESHIMOTH (Num. 33, 49).
BETH-LEBAOTH = LEBAOTH.
BETH-LEHEM i, Judah (Gen. 35, 19).
BETH-LEHEM ii, Zebulun, = *Bêt-Lahm*, 7 miles NW of Nazareth.
BETH-MARCABOTH.
BETH-NIMRAH (Num. 32, 36).
BETH-PALET.
BETH-PAZZEZ.
BETH-PEOR (Deut. 3, 29). [thopolis.
BETH-SHEAN = *Bêsân*, afterwards Scy-
BETH-SHEMESH i (15, 10; 21, 16) = IR-SHEMESH (19, 41), = *'Ain-Shams*, 15 miles W of Jerusalem.
BETH-SHEMESH ii (19, 22).
BETH-SHEMESH iii (19, 38).
BETH-TAPPUAH = *Taffûḥ*, 4 miles NW
BETHUL. [of Hebron.
BETH-ZUR = *Bêt-Çûr*, 4 miles N of
BETONIM. [Hebron.
BEZER.
BOHAN (STONE OF).
BOZKATH.
[chish (?).
CABBON = *Qubêbe*, 8 miles E of La-
CABUL = *Kâbûl*, 9 miles SE of Accho.
CAIN = *Yaqîn*, SE of Hebron.
CARMEL (15, 55) = *Kurmul*, 7 miles S
CHEPHAR-HAAMMONAI. [of Hebron.
CHEPHIRAH (9, 17). [salem.
CHESALON = *Keslâ*, 10 miles W of Jeru-
CHESULLOTH = CHISLOTH-TABOR = *Iksâl*, W of Mt. Tabor. [3, 17).
CHINNERETH or CHINNEROTH (Deut.
CHISLOTH-TABOR = CHESULLOTH.

DABBASHETH.
DABERATH or DABAREH = *Debûriye*,
DANNAH. [W of Mt. Tabor.
DEBIR i = KIRJATH-SEPHER (10, 38).
DEBIR ii (see 15, 7).
DIBON (Num. 21, 30).
DILEAN.
DIMONAH = *ed-Dheib* (*Ehdêb*?), E of
DOR (11, 2). [*Tel-'Arâd* (?).
DUMAH = *ed-Dôme*, 10 miles SW of
[Hebron.
EDER.
EDREI i (Num. 21, 33).
EDREI ii (19, 37).
EGLON (10, 3). [5 Philistine cities.
EKRON = *'Âqir*, northernmost of the
ELEPH = *Liftâ*, NW of Jerusalem (?).
ELON. [the neighborhood of Ekron.
ELTEKEH = Assyr. *Altaqû*, probably in
ELTEKON.
ELTOLAD.
EMEK-KEZIZ.
ENAM.
ENDOR (17, 11). [of *'Ain-Shams* (?).
EN-GANNIM i (15, 34) = *Umm-Jina*, W
EN-GANNIM ii = *Jenin*, on the S edge of the Plain of Esdraelon.
EN-GEDI = *'Ain-Jidi*, on the W shore of the Dead Sea.

EN-HADDAH = *Adhân*, to the W of Engannim ii (?). [of Hukkok (?).
EN-HAZOR = *'Ain-Hazzûr*, 5 miles NW
EN-RIMMON (see **15**, 32).
EN-ROGEL, either Job's Well or the Virgin's Fountain, both close to Jerusalem (?).
EN-SHEMESH = *'Ain-el-Ḥôd*, NE of
EN-TAPPUAH. [Bethany.
EPHRATH (**15**, 59) = BETH-LEHEM i.
ESHEAN.
ESHKALON = *'Asqalân*, N of Gaza.
ESHTAOL = *Ashû'a*, 12 miles W of Jerusalem.
ESHTEMOA = *Semû'a*, 9 miles SW of
ESHTEMOH = ESHTEMOA. [Hebron.
ETAM = *'Ain-'Atân*, SW of Bethlehem.
ETHER.
ETH-KAZIN.

GABA = GEBA.
GALLIM (**15**, 59).
GATH (**11**, 22). [of Nazareth.
GATH-HEPHER = *Meshhed*, 3 miles NE
GATH-RIMMON (**19**, 45; **21**, 24).
GAZA (Gen. **10**, 19).
GEBA = *Jeba'*, 5 miles N of Jerusalem.
GEBAL = *Jebeil* (Byblos), N of Beyroot.
GEDERAH = *Jedîre*, 9 miles S of
GEDEROTH. [Lydda (?).
GEDEROTHAIM.
GEDOR = *Jedûr*, 7 miles N of Hebron.
GEZER (**10**, 33). [Joppa (?).
GIBBETHON = *Qibbîye*, 18 miles SE of
GIBEAH (**15**, 57).
GIBEATH (**18**, 28) = *Tel-el-Fûl*, N of Jerusalem (?).
GIBEON (**9**, 3).
GILGAL (**4**, 19).
GILOH.
GOLAN (Deut. **4**, 43).
GOSHEN.
GULLATH-ILLITH (**15**, 19).
GULLATH-MAIM (Jud. **1**, 15).
GULLATH-TAHTITH.

HADASHAH.
HALHUL = *Halhûl*, N of Hebron.
HALI.
HAMATH = *Hamâ*, N of Damascus.
HAMMATH = *Hammâm*, S of Tiberias.
HAMMON = *'Ain-Hâmûl*, NE of the Ladder of Tyre (?).
HAMMOTH-DOR = HAMMATH.
HANNATHON.
HAPHRAIM = *Farriye*, NE of Plain of
HAZAR-GADDAH. [Esdraelon (?).
HAZAR-SHUAL.
HAZAR-SUSAH.
HAZOR i, Naphtali (**11**, 1; **19**, 36).
HAZOR ii, Judah (**15**, 23).
HAZOR iii (**15**, 25) = KERIOTH-HEZRON.
'HAZOR-HADATTAH' (see **15**, 25).
HEBRON (**10**, 3).
HELEPH.
HELKATH.
HESHBON (Num. **21**, 25).
HESHMON.
HEZRON = *Hadîre*, between Kadesh-barnea and the Dead Sea (?).
HOLON.
HOREM.
HORMAH (Num. **14**, 45).
HOSAH.
HUKKOK = *Yâqûq*, 6 miles W of Caper-
HUMTAH. [naum (?).

IBLEAM.
IDALAH.
IIM.
IRON = *Yârûn*, 18 miles E of the Lad-
IRPEEL. [der of Tyre.
IR-SHEMESH = BETH-SHEMESH.
ITHNAN.
[ron.
JABNEEL i (**15**, 11) = *Yebnâ*, W of Ek-
JABNEEL ii, in Naphtali (**19**, 33).
JAGUR.
JAHAZA (**13**, 18) = JAHAZAH (**21**, 36).
JANOHAH = *Yânûn*, 7 miles SE of
JANUM. [Shechem.
JAPHIA (see **19**, 12).
JAPHO = *Jaffa* (Arab. *Yâfâ*) or JOPPA (2 Chron. **2**, 16; Ezra **3**, 7; Jon. **1**, 3).
JARMUTH i, in Judah (**10**, 3).
JARMUTH ii, in Issachar (**21**, 29).
JATTIR = *'Attîr*, 12 miles SW of Hebron.
JAZER (Num **32**, 1).
JEHUD = *Yehûdiye*, 8 miles E of Joppa.
JERICHO (**2**, 1).
JERUSALEM (**10**, 1; **18**, 28).
JETHLAH. [Gilboa.
JEZREEL i (**19**, 18) = *Zer'în*, NW of Mt.
JEZREEL ii (**15**, 56).
JIPHTAH.
JIPHTAH-EL (VALLEY OF).
JOKDEAM.
JOKNEAM (**12**, 22).

JOKTHEEL.
220 JUTTAH = *Yuṭṭâ*, S of Hebron.

KABZEEL.
KADESH-BARNEA (Num. **32**, 8).
KANAH = *Qâna*, 7 miles SE of Tyre.
KARKAA.
225 KARTAH.
KARTAN.
KATTATH.
KEDEMOTH. [desh-barnea.
KEDESH (**15**, 23), probably not Ka-
230 KEDESH, Naphtali (**12**, 22).
KEILAH = *Kîlâ*, 8 miles NW of Hebron.
KEREM (**15**, 59) = *'Ain-Kârim*, 4 miles W of Jerusalem.
KERIOTH-HEZRON = *Qaryatên*, 12 miles
KIBZAIM. [S of Hebron.
235 KINAH.
KIRJATHAIM (Num. **32**, 37).
KIRJATH-ARBA = HEBRON.
KIRJATH-BAAL = KIRJATH-JEARIM.
KIRJATH-JEARIM (**9**, 17).
240 KIRJATH-SANNAH = DEBIR i.
KIRJATH-SEPHER (**15**, 15) = DEBIR i.
KISHION or KISHON.
KITHLISH. [NW of Jerusalem (?).
KOLON (**15**, 59) = *Qalôniye*, 5 miles

245 LACHISH (**10**, 3).
LAHMAM = *Lahm*, 9 miles E of La-
LAKUM. [chish, S of *Bêt-Jibrîn* (?).
LEBAOTH.
LESHAM = *Tel-el-Qâdi*, W of Cæsarea
250 LIBNAH (**10**, 29). [Philippi.
LIDEBIR (**13**, 26).
LUZ = BETH-EL.

MAALEH-ACRABBIM.
MAARATH.
255 MADMANNAH.
MAHANAIM (Gen. **32**, 2).
MAKKEDAH (**10**, 10).
MANAHATH (**15**, 59).
MAON = *Ma'în*, 8 miles S of Hebron.
260 MARALAH = *Mal'ûl*, W of Nazareth (?).
MARESHAH = *Merâsh*, 10 miles W of
MEARAH. [Lachish, S of *Bêt-Jibrîn*.
MEDEBA (Num. **21**, 30).
MEGIDDO (**12**, 21).
265 MEHALLEB (**19**, 29).
ME-JARKON (see **19**, 46).
MEPHAATH.
MICHMETHAH.
MIDDIN.
MIGDAL-EL (see **19**, 38). 270
MIGDAL-GAD.
MISHAL (**21**, 30) = MISHEAL (**19**, 26).
MISREPHOTH-MAIM (**11**, 8).
MIZPEH i (**15**, 38) = *Tel-eç-Çâfiye*, ten miles E of Ashdod (?), *cf.* however **11**, 22.
MIZPEH ii (**18**, 26). 275
MOLADAH.
MOZAH.

NAAMAH.
NAARATH.
NAHALAL (**21**, 35) = NAHALLAL (**19**, 280
NEAH. [15).
NEIEL.
NEPHTOAH (WATERS OF); see **15**, 9.
NEZIB = *Neçîb*, 8 miles NW of He-
NIBSHAN. [bron (?). 285

OPHNI = *Jifnâ*, 3 miles NW of Beth-
OPHRAH. [el (?).
[lem.
PARAH = *Fâra*, 6 miles NE of Jerusa-
PEOR (**15**, 59) = *Faghûr*, 4 miles SW
[of Bethlehem.
RABBAH i (**15**, 60). 290
RABBAH ii (**13**, 25) = *'Ammân* = Rabbath Ammon or Philadelphia.
RABBITH = *Râbe*, S of Mt. Gilboa.
RAKKATH = Tiberias (?).
RAMAH i (**18**, 25) = *er-Râm*, 5 miles N of Jerusalem.
RAMAH ii (**19**, 36) = *er-Râme*, 17 miles 295
E of Accho.
RAMAH iii (**19**, 29) = *Râmiya*, 11 miles E of the Ladder of Tyre (?).
RAMAH OF THE SOUTH (**19**, 8).
RAMATH-MIZPEH.
RAMOTH, in Gilead (Deut. **4**, 43).
REHOB i (**19**, 28). 300
REHOB ii (**19**, 30).
REKEM.
REMETH = JARMUTH. [Nazareth.
RIMMON = *Rummâne*, 5 miles N of
RIMMONAH (**21**, 35) = RIMMON. 305

SA'DID; see SARID.
SALT (CITY OF); *Tel-el-Milh* (?), E
SALCAH (Deut. **3**, 10). [of Beer-sheba.
SANSANNAH.
SA'RID (see **19**, 10). 310
SECACAH.
SHAALABBIN.
SHAHAZIMAH.

SHAMIR.
SHARAIM.
SHARUHEN (see 19, 6).
'SHEBA' (see 19, 2).
SHECHEM (Gen. 12, 6).
SHEMA.
SHICRON.
SHIHON = *Sha'ĭn*, NW of Tabor (?).
SHILHIM.
SHILOH = *Sêlûn*.
SHIMRON (11, 1).
SHUNEM = *Sôlem*, N of Jezreel.
SIBMAH. [*Nettîf*.
SOCOH i (15, 35) = *Shuwêke*, S of *Bêt-*
SOCOH ii (15, 48) = *Shuwêke*, SW of Hebron.
SORES (15, 59) = *Sârîs*, 9 miles W of
SUCCOTH (Gen. 33, 17). [Jerusalem.

TAANACH (12, 21).
TAANATH-SHILOH = *Ta'nâ*, SE of Nâ-
TABOR. [bulus.
TANACH = TAANACH.
TAPPUAH i (15, 34).
TAPPUAH ii (16, 8; 17, 8) = EN-TAP-
TARALAH. [PUAH.
TATAM (15, 59).
TEKOA (15, 59) = *Teqû'a*, 5 miles S of
TELEM. [Beth-lehem.
THIMNATHAH = TIMNAH i. [shemesh i.
TIMNAH i (15, 10) = *Tibne*, S of Beth-
TIMNAH ii (15, 57) = *Tibnâ* (?), SE of *Bêt-Nettîf* (*cf.* Gen. 38, 12).
TIMNATH-SERAH (see 19, 50).
TOCHEN (19, 7).
TYRE = *Çûr*.

ZANOAH i (15, 34) = *Zânû'*, 15 miles SW of Jerusalem, N of *Bêt-Nettîf*.
ZANOAH ii (15, 56).
ZAPHON.
ZARETH-SHAHAR.
ZELAH.
ZEMARAIM.
ZENAN.
'ZER' (see 19, 35).
ZIDDIM (see 19, 35).
ZIDON (Gen. 49, 13).
ZIKLAG = *Zuḥêlîqe*, ESE of Gaza (?).
ZIOR.
ZIPH i (15, 24).
ZIPH ii (15, 55), S of Hebron. [lem.
ZORAH = *Çar'ah*, 14 miles W of Jerusa-
ZOREAH = ZORAH.

It is impossible to draw a map of the territories of the tribes which will include the whole OT; their borders were no more permanently fixed than those of the Saxon Heptarchy. Nor can any one map be drawn to represent the tribal divisions as given in Joshua; the geographical sections of the Book combine independent sources, which often contradict each other.

There is, however, complete agreement as to the general relative positions of the tribal territories. See map of the Seats of the Twelve Tribes prefixed to *Judges*.

Notes on Chapter 13.

13, 29-31 is a composition or medley of phrases from various sources; since vv. 25 and 31 are inconsistent, this section was either composed or expanded by one of the later Priestly writers; *cf.* notes on vv. 21. 22. 29-31. The passages colored dark red in cc. **13-24** are assigned to J^1, because they are closely parallel to Jud. 1.

For the contents of c. **13**, compare 1 Chron. 5.

(1) Deut. 3, 14, usually in the NE of Bashan; possibly the close connection here with the Philistines may point to another Southern tribe. **13**, 2

(2) That is, the *Brook of Egypt*; *cf.* 15, 4; Num. 34, 5.—(3) *Cf.* Deut. 2, 23. 3

(4) RV *and Mearah*. (5) That is, Men of Gebal. 4

(6) The present connection of Reuben and Gad with *Western* Manasseh is due to some mistake or corruption of the text. The Greek Bible inserts after v. 7: *From the Jordan as far as the Great Sea, toward the sun-setting shalt thou give it; the Great Sea shall be the border*, and proceeds: *to the* (some MSS insert *two*) *tribes and to the half-tribe of Manasseh, to Reuben and Gad, gave Moses* &c. 13,7.8

(7) Verses 9–12, like 12,1–5, follow Deut. 3,8–13. 12

(8) See Deut. 18,2; *cf.* Josh. 13,33; 18,7; Ezek. 44,28. 14

(9) *Cf.* Num. 31,8; the connection between Sihon and Midian has no basis in the earlier narratives. 21

(10) Compare 24,9; Num. 22,5; 31,8. 22

(11) RV *Debir*, possibly = *Lo-debar*, 2 Sam. 9,4, not identified. 26

(12) The recognition of Eastern Manasseh as a formal half-tribe was very late; see note on 17,14–18. *Cf.* Deut. 3,13.14. 29

(13) *All* the cities of Gilead are given to Gad in v. 25; *cf.* Deut. 3,15. 31

(14) Explanatory correction of preceding clause, according to 1 Chr. 7,14 (RV^{M}). Machir was the only son of Manasseh, and half of his descendants were wanted on the West of the Jordan.

Notes on Chapter 14.

18,1 stood in P before 14,1, being the heading of P's account of the division. Verses 6–15: R^{D} on a basis of JE.

(1) Verses 1–5 contain the fulfilment of Num. 34,16–29 (P). 14,1

(2) For vv. 6–15 *cf.* Deut. 1 and Num. 13 and 14. 6

(3) An Edomite tribe, incorporated in Judah; in 1 Chr. 2,9.18 Caleb is connected by genealogy with Judah. *Cf.* Gen. 36,11.

(4) Probably forty years wandering and five years in Canaan. 10

(5) Literally *for war and for going out and for coming in*; *cf.* Deut. 31,2. 11

(6) *Cf.* 10,37. (7) *Cf.* notes on 10,3; 11,21; Jud. 1,10. 14.15

Notes on Chapter 15.

V. 13 is due to the Redactor who inserted 14–19. Verses 14–19 and 63 (*cf.* notes) belong to the document in Jud. 1, *viz.* to J. Verses 45–47 use formulas not found elsewhere in P, and indicate an undigested fragment of a source either used by P or inserted later. They are often referred to JE.

For c. 15 *cf.* 1 Chr. 4,1–23; Neh. 11,25–30.

(1) For the southern bay of the Dead Sea *cf.* Notes on Ezekiel, p. 128.— The *Brook of Egypt* is generally identified with the *Wâdy el-'Arish*, that is, the stream which empties into the Mediterranean at *el-'Arish* (the ancient *Rhinocolura*) between Gaza and Port Said; but it has been recently suggested that it is probably the stream which empties into the Mediterranean near Raphia (the modern *Tel-Rifah*), further north, about 6¼ hours S of Gaza, near the present frontier of Egypt. In several passages of OT the Heb. word for *Egypt* is held by some to refer not to the valley of the Nile but to the northernmost province of Western Arabia (*cf.* Critical Notes on the Heb. text of Isaiah, p. 98, l. 8). For this *Brook of Egypt*, or rather *Stream of Muçr*, *cf.* Num. 34,5; 1 Kings 8,65; 2 Kings 24,7; Is. 27,12; see also Gen. 15,18. 15,2.4

(2) There is a *Debir* near Adummim; but the Greek Bible reads *to the fourth part of the valley*. Some propose to treat *Debir* not as a proper name, but to translate *backward*, that is, *westward*. 15, 7

(3) Not the site of the camp; contrast note on 9, 6.

(4) Possibly *Wâdy el-Qelt* (*cf.* above, p. 66, l. 33), or the stream immediately to the south of it.

(5) Lit. *went out to*, used also when the border came to an end at the sea &c. *Cf.* Notes on Ezekiel, p. 204, l. 49.

(6) It has been usual to locate the Waters of Nephtoah and Kirjath-jearim 9
at *Liftâ* and *Qaryet-el-'Ineb* (see *Judges*, p. 91, l. 3), and to draw the border-line NW. The Palestine Exploration map places them at *'Ain-'Atân* and *'Erma* (S of *Keslâ* = Chesalon, v. 10) respectively, and draws the border-line first SW and then NW.

(7) Not the mountains of Edom between the Dead Sea and the Gulf of 10
Akabah (*Ezekiel*, p. 169, l. 24), but a mountain in Judah.

(8) In 19, 41: Ir-shemesh, and given to Dan.—Timnah (*cf.* Jud. 14, 1) is about an hour S of Beth-shemesh, NW of *Bêt-Nettif*, while the Timnah in v. 57 (*cf.* Gen. 38, 12) is SE of *Bêt-Nettif*.

(9) Verses 14-19 = Jud. 1, 10-15, almost word for word; *cf.* Notes on 14
Judges, p. 49, ll. 17-35. The gloss *younger* to *Caleb's brother* (Jud. 1, 13) has not been added in Joshua (see *Judges*, p. 49, l. 30). For *give* in *give me a present* (v. 19) the parallel passage in Judges reads a different synonym (Heb. *hâbah* instead of *tênâh*), and for the singular forms *illith* and *tahtith* in Jud. 1, 15 Joshua has the plurals *illioth* and *tahtioth*. The Received Text, in both Joshua and Judges, reads the plural, *Gulloth* (ARV *springs*), instead of the singular, *Gullath*, as adopted in the present translation; the Greek Bible in Josh. 15, 19 read the singular. The meaning of *Gullath illith* and *Gullath tahtith* (ARV *upper and nether springs*) may have been *Upper* and *Lower Basin* (see *Judges*, p. 49, l. 34).

(10) This name is commonly explained to mean *City of the Book* or 15
Archive-Town, and is supposed to have been the seat of a famous library or the seat of the oldest university; but this explanation is by no means certain.

(11) That is, Kenezite (*cf.* p. 81, l. 24). (12) See note on 10, 40. 17. 21

(13) RV *Adadah*; see above, p. 63, l. 25. 22

(14) That is, New Hazor, but the word for *new* is Aramaic; the Greek 25
Bible apparently had a different reading, and the text is probably corrupt.

(15) *One* name as RV, not *two* as AV (LXX, *cities of Hezron*).

(16) Heb. בנותיה BNWTYH, lit. *her daughters*; *cf.* v. 45 &c.; Jud. 1, 27; 28
11, 26; Num. 21, 25. 32; 32, 42; Jer. 49, 2; Ezek. 16, 46; Received Text: בזיותיה BZYWTYH, RV *Biziothiah*.

(17) *Cf.* 19, 4 and 1 Chr. 4, 30; RV *Chesil*. 30

(18) *Cf.* 19, 7 and Neh. 11, 29; RV *Ain and Rimmon*; *cf.* above, note 15. 32
En-rimmon is represented by the ruins of *Umm-er-Ramâmîn*, 12 miles NE of Beer-sheba, SW of *'Anâb*.

(19) At least 36 cities have been enumerated. P, or a later editor, has added to the list of cities given in his source without correcting the statement as to the total number. Verses 26-28 seem to be interpolated from Neh. 11, 26. 27; if omitted, the number 29 in v. 32 will be correct.

(20) Heb. *shephelâh*, between the *Hill-country* and the sea, *cf.* Deut. 1, 7 33
and Notes on Judges, p. 49, l. 11.

(21) Given to Dan in 19, 41; cf. *Judges*, p. 82, l. 24. In the Amarna Tablets the name occurs in the form *Çarkha*; it is mentioned in connection with *Aialûna* = Aijalon; see above, p. 72, l. 6, and *cf.* 2 Chron. 11, 10.

(22) *Fifteen* names are mentioned. Probably one of the three, *Adithaim*, 36

Gederothaim, *Gederah*, is due to an accidental repetition. The Greek Bible omits *Adithaim*. 15

(23) Readings vary between *Lahmam* and *Lahmas*. 40

(24) Both here and in 1 Sam. **30**, 30 the readings vary between *Ether* and *Ethek*. 42

(25) RV *the great sea and the border thereof*. 47

(26) The names from Tekoa to Manahath are given on the authority of the Greek Bible. 59

(27) V. 63 = Jud. **1**, 21, except that *Benjamites* is substituted in Judges for *Judahites* in our passage. *Judahites* is no doubt the original reading. Compare **17**, 14. For *could not dispossess* the parallel passage in Judges reads *did not dispossess*, but *could not* was evidently the original reading, which seems to have been changed into *did not* by an editor or scribe, on dogmatic grounds; *cf.* Jud. **1**, 19. 63

Notes on Chapter 16.

In vv. 1-3 note the absence of P formulas and treatment of Joseph as a single tribe. V. 4 possibly from R^P to connect vv. 1-3 with vv. 5-8. V. 9 is added from JE to the complete P statement.

(1) Only the southern border is given.—For the *Waters of Jericho* see above, p. 58, note [7]. **16**, 1

(2) Not known; *cf.* 1 Chr. **7**, 32. 33. 3

(3) The description is confused and imperfect, through combination of independent sources, and omission, or loss, of part of the text. Apparently in vv. 6 and 7 the border is traced first from Michmethah to the SE, and then from the same point to the SW. 5

(4) Text is apparently corrupt. 6

(5) Probably *Wâdy Qâna*, a tributary of the *Nahr-el-'Aujâ* which falls into the sea north of Joppa. Or the name may mean *Brook of Reeds* (Heb. *nákhal qanêh*, like the Arabic *Nahr el-Qáçab*, which may be the *Nahr el-Mefjir* (or *Wâdy el-Khudêrah*), S of Cæsarea. Some scholars have thought of the *Nahr el-Fâlik*, N of *Arsûf* (Apollonia), between Cæsarea and Joppa, where the Crusaders under Richard Coeur-de-Lion defeated Saladin on Sept. 7th 1191. The Syrian papyrus grows in the bed of the Nahr el-Fâlik; but this stream seems to be an artificial canal. 8

(6) Compare chapter **17**, verse 14. 10

Notes on Chapter 17.

In the section **17**, 1-13 R^P has not merely inserted a few small fragments of JE in P, but has drawn largely from older sources, and made harmonizing additions of his own (printed in *Italics*), with very limited success. For vv. 14-18 see below, notes 10 ff.

(1) V. 2 gives the clans of Manasseh without any attempt at personal genealogy; in v. 3 Hepher is the great-grandson of Manasseh; *cf.* **13**, 31 and Num. **26**, 28-32. **17**, 2

(2) Verses 3. 4 is the carrying out of Num. **27**, 1-11 (P); *cf.* Num. **26**, 33; **36**. 3

(3) Apparently a portion for each of five of the families in v. 2, and also for each of the five daughters of Hepher, the eponym of the sixth family. 5

(4) A misplaced fragment connecting with **16**, 9. 9

(5) The Manassites. 17, 10

(6) Compare *height* or *heights* of Dor, 11, 2; 12, 23. The words from *the* 11
three heights to *did not conquer* have been brought forward from 11b. 12a. After *did not conquer* the Received Text has *those cities*,—a subsequent insertion which became necessary after the preceding words had been misplaced.

(7) See above, p. 60, l. 14; *cf.* also v. 18; 1 Kings 4, 12, and 1 Chr. 7, 29. The long conspicuous hill in the picture facing p. 28 is the site of the citadel of the ancient Beth-shean, now *Bêsân*. The spur of limestone rock on which the citadel stood is in shape like the crater of an extinct volcano. The ancient city of Beth-shean was not, however, confined to this hill: the ruins, which surpass any other in Western Palestine, extend over a surface of three miles. The view from the keep of Beth-shean (which has been called a miniature Gibraltar) is one of the finest in the Jordan Valley. It is almost the furthest-seen, furthest-seeing fortress in the land. It lay in the line of the ancient road between Damascus and Egypt, near the southeastern border of the Plain of Jezreel (see p. 75, l. 36), NE of Jenin (see *Judges*, p. 69, l. 39), about 3 miles W of the Jordan. According to Josephus it was the largest city of the Decapolis (Matt. 4, 25; Mark 5, 20; 7, 31), the *Decapolitana regio* of Pliny (*Nat. Hist.*, 5, 16). The other nine cities of this Decapolitan League were all situated east of the Jordan. In 1 Sam. 31, 10. 12 we find the name in the form *Beth-shân* (*cf.* 2 Sam. 31, 10: *Beth-shan* and 1 Macc. 5, 52; 12, 40: *Bethsan*). In the Amarna Tablets the city is called *Bît-sâni* (see Johns Hopkins Contributions to Assyriology, vol. 4, p. 111, l. 31). The name means *House of Safety* (*cf.* above, p. 70, l. 8). In later times the city was called *Scythopolis* (2 Macc. 12, 29; Judith 3, 10), perhaps from a colony of Scythians, that is, barbarians from the North (see above, p. 51, note 7; *Ezekiel*, p. 173, l. 43, and *cf.* Herod. 1, 105; Pliny 5, 74).

(8) Near Nazareth about 25 miles E of Dor.

(9) Verses 11 (after |; see above, p. vi, l. 15) - 13 = Jud. 1, 27. 28; but the 13
order of the names enumerated is different.

(10) It seems now established that the eastern territory of Manasseh (*cf.* 14
Num. 32) was not occupied by them at the time of the Israelite sojourn east of the Jordan, but by a later migration from the West. This section comes after the account of the western territory of Manasseh, and may have been the introduction to the account of the migration of Machir and Jair eastward. Num. 32, 39-42 and Josh. 13, 13 would be the sequel to this account which, together with 15, 13-19. 63; 16, 10; 17, 11-13; 19, 47, belongs to the same document as Jud. 1.

The repetition of v. 15 in vv. 17. 18, and other doublets have been explained as resulting from a combination of two sources; but these and the general obscurity of the passage are probably due to the efforts of a redactor to adapt the narrative to the later tradition: that Eastern Manasseh, like Reuben and Gad, received their inheritance while Israel sojourned east of the Jordan.

As the narrative stands, this conference between Joshua and the Josephites has no sequel.

(11) RV *Children*; compare verse 17.

(12) The Hill-country east and south of Carmel is full of forests, but this 15
was already included in the lot of Joseph.

(13) The words *in the land of the Perizzites and the Rephaim* are omitted in the Greek Bible; no district is elsewhere so designated. In Deut. 3, 13 *the land of Rephaim* = Bashan; so that whatever authority attaches to this phrase supports the view that the extra territory granted was east of the Jordan.

(14) *Cf.* note on 24, 6 and Notes on Judges, p. 62. 16

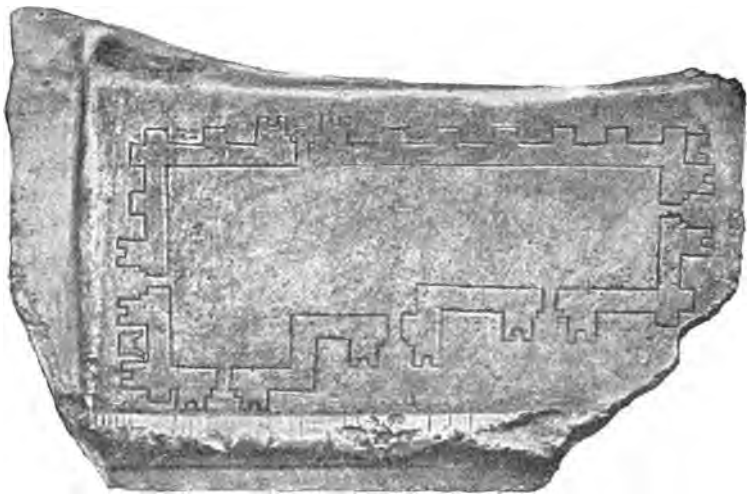
(15) See above, p. 75, l. 37. 17

(16) Strengthened by the acquisition of Bashan, they would be able to complete the conquest of their western territory. 17

(17) If this section be rightly understood, as an introduction to an account of the settlement of Eastern Manasseh, the Hill-country must be that of Gilead. 18

Notes on Chapter 18.

V. 1 is P's heading to the division of the land by lot to all the nine and a half tribes, and was, as such, originally prefixed to **14**, 1 (see above, p. 81, l. 20), but transferred here by the redactor to admit of the insertion of vv. 2–10. This section does not connect with either P or D, and is too systematic for J or E, but seems due to the editor who combined J and E (RJ^E; see above,



PLAN OF FORTRESS ON STATUE B OF GUDEA.

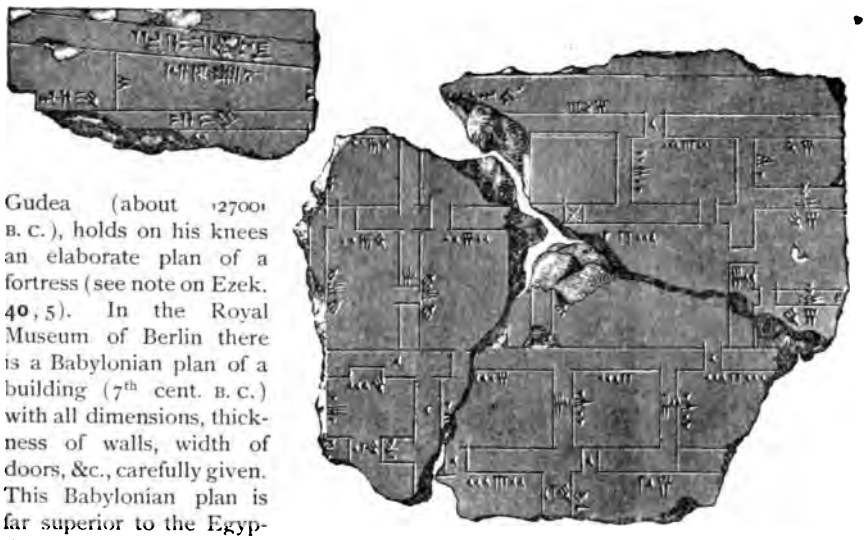
p. 46, l. 21). Note that Joshua acts independently and is not (as in **14**, 1; **19**, 51; **21**, 1) subordinated to the priest Eleazar.

(1) For Shiloh see 1 Sam. **1**, 3; Jer. **7**, 12; Ps. **78**, 60. The picture facing p. 30 shows the southern slope of the hill of Shiloh with the ruins of a mosque and a large, gnarled, old terebinth,—the solitary tree of the district. The ancient Israelitish sanctuary may have stood on the large terrace behind the ruins of the deserted village of *Sēlūn*, N of the hill. Shiloh is about 8 hours from Jerusalem, 4 hours from Shechem, E of Joppa, and about 12 miles NE of Beth-el (*cf.* Jud. **21**, 19). The bold knoll, rocky and irregular, is strewn with a mass of shapeless ruins. Inhabitants there are none. **18**, 1

(2) ARV *describe*, [that is, to *delineate*, to *draw a plan of*. It is by no means necessary to suppose that the men were to record merely the number and location of the towns and villages in the various districts. We find geographical delineations and drawings of land surfaces, plans of buildings &c. at a very early period. We have Egyptian plans of mines, tombs,[a] and temples. 4

[a] *Cf.* MASPERO, *The Struggle of the Nations* (London, 1896), p. 376.

One of the Babylonian statues found during the French excavations at Telloh (1875-1880) and now in the Louvre, Paris, the so-called Architect of King Gudea (about 2700 B. C.), holds on his knees an elaborate plan of a fortress (see note on Ezek. 40, 5). In the Royal Museum of Berlin there is a Babylonian plan of a building (7th cent. B. C.) with all dimensions, thickness of walls, width of doors, &c., carefully given. This Babylonian plan is far superior to the Egyptian, in fact not essentially different from our modern architectural drawings. Another Old Babylonian plan of a house, found at Telloh and now in the Louvre, is nearly complete; it seems to belong to the period of Sargon I. and his son, Narâm-Sin (about 2750 B. C.). We have also an Old Babylonian plan of a large estate, drawn up under the reign of King Ine-Sin, of Ur (about 2400 B. C.). It was found during the French excavations at Telloh and is now in the Imperial Museum of Constantinople. The size of this tablet is 12.7 x 10.8 centimeters (about 5 x 4¼ in.).[a] See also the Babylonian map of the world and the plan of a part of the city of Babylon, figured on p. 100 of *Ezekiel*.



BABYLONIAN GROUNDPLAN OF A BUILDING.

(3) ARV *book*. The Heb. *séfer* (*cf.* English *cypher*) includes any kind of writing. The original meaning of the word, which is borrowed from the Assyrian, is *message*.—P. H.] 9

(4) The description in vv. 15-19 is almost identical with part of the northern border of Judah, **15**, 6-9, but drawn in the opposite direction. 15

(5) RV *Kirjath-jearim*; compare v. 14.

(6) The words *at Mount Ephron* are supplied from **15**, 9. The text, as it stands, is clearly corrupt. RV *westward, and went out.*

(7) RV *which is in the vale of Rephaim northward.* 16

(8) Assigned to Judah in **15**, 61. 22

Notes on Chapter 19.

(1) For vv. 1-9 *cf.* 1 Chr. 4, 24-43. These cities, taken from the inheritance of Judah, have already been enumerated, with slight variations of name and order, in **15**, 26-32. 42. **19**, 1

[a] *Cf.* THUREAU-DANGIN, *Un cadastre chaldéen* (Revue d'Assyriologie, vol. 4, No. 1) Paris, 1897; JULES OPPERT, *Un cadastre chaldéen* (Comptes-rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres) Paris, 1896; AUG. EISENLOHR, *Ein altbabylonischer Felderplan*, Leipzig, 1896; LUDWIG BORCHARDT, *Ein babylonisches Grundrissfragment* (Sitzungsberichte der Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin, Feb. 2, 1888).

(2) In **15**, 32 *Shilhim*, 1 Chr. **4**, 31 *Shaaraim*, somewhere in the south of Judah; the varieties of spelling make any identification very uncertain. **19**, 6

(3) *Fourteen* are enumerated; *Sheba* is wanting in 1 Chr. **4**, 28 and in some Heb. MSS, and may be an accidental repetition of the *Sheba* of *Beer-sheba* (*cf.* p. 88, ll. 37 and 44). The Greek Bible has *Shema* as in **15**, 26.

(4) RV *Ain, Rimmon*; see **15**, 32.

(5) Added from 1 Chr. **4**, 32; *cf.* LXX.

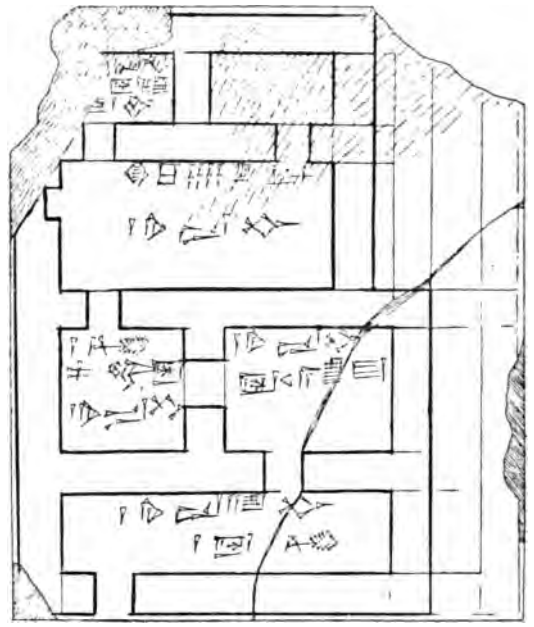
(6) This name is variously written in the Versions, and the site not certainly known. It has been proposed to read *Sadid* (*cf.* note on **6**, 18), which might be identified with *Tel-Shaddûd*, SW of Nazareth.

(7) The southern border from Sarid westward.

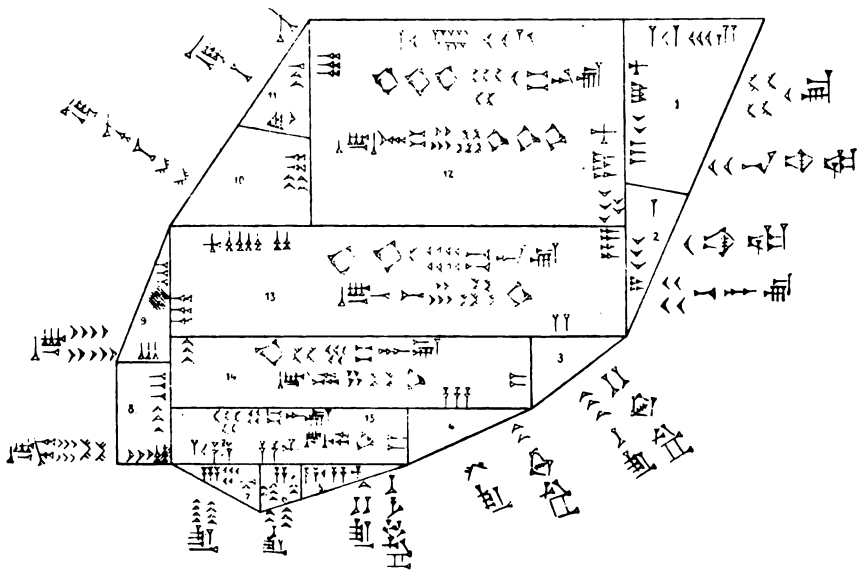
(8) The southern border from Sarid eastward.

(9) The eastern border. RV *Gath-hepher* and *Eth-kazin*; AV, *Gittah-hepher* and *Ittah-kazin*, but *Gittah* and *Ittah* are merely accusative forms of *Gath* and *Eth*.

(10) RV *which stretcheth*.



BABYLONIAN GROUNDPLAN OF A HOUSE.



BABYLONIAN SURVEY OF AN ESTATE.

(11) The northern border; the western border is given by that of Asher. 19, 14
(12) RV *to Hannathon.*
(13) Only *five* named; a fragment of a list of cities is added without any 15
connecting phrase to the description of the border. The Greek Bible omits 15^b.

(14) The lists of cities in vv. 17-23 are mechanically combined with one or 17
two indications of the border, which we are left to gather from the accounts of the neighboring tribes.
(15) RV *unto Jezreel,* but Jezreel (p. 75, l. 37) was in the middle of the terri- 18
tory. The modern name *Zer'in* is a corruption of Jezreel; cf. *Bêtîn* for Beth-el.

(16) In vv. 24-31 we have a similar awkward combination of lists of cities 24
and descriptions of borders.
(17) So 1 Chr. 6, 74; AV *Hebron,* RV *Ebron.* 28
(18) Mentioned in the cuneiform account (col. ii, l. 39) of Sennacherib's cam- 29
paign against Hezekiah (*cf.* above, p. 74, l. 29 and *Isaiah,* p. 165, l. 6), in connection with Achzib, Accho, &c. Cf. *Ahlab, Helbah* in Jud. 1, 31.
(19) So with LXX; RV *Ummah.* (20) Only seventeen enumerated. 30
(21) This account is confused and probably incomplete; but the impression 31
it conveys is that the border ran inland from Carmel to Shihor-libnath (*Wâdy Zarqâ,* S of Carmel), turned east to the border of Zebulun, and followed this for some distance; then a long narrow strip of territory stretched to the border of Zidon, and the W border came S, inland of Tyre, coming to an end at the sea near Achzib. Pliny (5, 17) calls the *Wâdy Zarqâ* the *Crocodile River.* The climate of this marshy region is similar to the climate of the Egyptian Delta (cf. *Shihor,* 13, 3 and Is. 23, 3; Jer. 2, 18). About twenty years ago German colonists of Haifâ killed here a female crocodile.

(22) Little that is definite can be gathered from the description in vv. 32-34 32
beyond the fact that Naphtali lay in the angle between Asher and Zebulun.
(23) *Cf.* Jud. 4, 11; AV *From Allon to Zaananniim;* RV *the oak in Zaa-* 33
nannim, RV^M *oak* (or *terebinth*) *of Bezaananniim.* It is better to read *Bazaanim* in accordance with the *Kĕthîb* (see above, p. vi, l. 4) in Jud. 4, 11. For *terebinth* see notes on Is. 1, 29 and *ibid.* p. 212, No. 3. *Cf.* also note 22 on c. 24 and the plate facing p. 30.
(24) The Greek Bible omits *Judah*; but the passage does not make sense 34
either with or without this word.
(25) Only here, v. 29, and 10, 20 in Joshua. 35
(26) *Fortified cities, Ziddim, Zer* = Heb. MBÇR, HÇDM, ÇR; the text has probably been amplified by accidental repetition (*cf.* p. 87, l. 7).
(27) Not more than *sixteen* enumerated. 38

(28) Verses 40-46 contain no description of the border, which might be 40
gathered from those of Judah and Ephraim, but simply a list of cities without statement as to number.
(29) Zorah, Eshtaol, and Ekron are given to Judah, 15, 33. 45. 41. 43
(30) The addition of the Received Text, *and Rakkon* (Heb. והרקון WHRQWN), 46
not found in the Greek Bible, was due to an accidental repetition of *Jarkon* (Heb. הירקון HYRQWN); *cf.* above, l. 37.
(31) A condensed version of the story given at length in Jud. 18; *cf.* 47
Jud. 1, 34. The Greek Bible combines this version with Jud. 1, 34. 35, and introduces curious misreadings, to the effect that the Sons of *Judah* conquered *Lachish,* and called it *Lasenndak* (in the *Codex Alexandrinus* of the Greek Bible: *Lesen Dan*). The Greek Bible reads v. 48 immediately after v. 46.

(32) AV *went out too little for them*, RV *went out beyond them*, RV^{M} *went out from them.* 19

(33) Lengthened form (*Lêshâm*) of *Laish* Jud. **18**, 29; RV *Leshem.* See Notes on Judges, p. 92, l. 2.

(34) In Jud. **2**, 9 more correctly *Timnath-heres*, that is, *Tibneh*, 10 miles NW of Beth-el; but placed by CONDER at *Kefr Hârith* or *Hâris*, 9 miles SW of Nâbulus (Shechem). *Cf.* **24**, 30. The finest of the remarkable rock-tombs of Tibneh, figured in the Notes on Judges, p. 55, is said to be Joshua's tomb; but it seems to belong to a much later period, and it was apparently the burial place of a large family. 50

Notes on Chapter 20.

(1) Fulfilment of Num. **35**, 9–24 (P); *cf.* Deut. **4**, 41–43. **20**, 1

(2) The portions omitted (not found in the Greek Bible) were inserted by a late redactor to complete the treatment of the subject by adding the provisions of Deut. **19**; they are largely made up of phrases from D, *cf.* Deut. **19**, 5. 6; **4**, 42. 4–6

(3) These cities of refuge were ancient sanctuaries, and doubtless, as such, possessed the right of asylum, which, when their standing as sanctuaries was no longer acknowledged, was here confirmed to them. 7

Notes on Chapter 21.

(1) Fulfilment of Num. **35**, 1–8 (P). Quoted, with textual variations, in 1 Chr. **6**, 54–81. **21**, 1

(2) As Joshua was a younger contemporary of Aaron, the Sons of Aaron are very disproportionately provided for. 4

(3) RV *out of the families of.* 5. 6

(4) So 1 Chr. **6**, 59; RV *Ain.* 16

(5) *Anathoth* and *Almon* are not mentioned among the cities of Benjamin in c. **18**. 18

(6) 1 Chr. **6**, 70: *Aner.* AV *Tanach*, RV *Taanach*, *cf.* Notes on Judges, p. 50, l. 20. 25

(7) So with **17**, 11 and 1 Chr. **6**, 70 (*Bileam*). RV *Gath-rimmon*, an accidental repetition of Gath-rimmon in v. 24. LXX: *Iebatha* (many MSS have, however, *Baithsan* or *Baisan* = *Beth-shean*, which seems to have crept in from **17**, 11).

(8) *Rimmonah* = *Rimmon*, with 1 Chr. **6**, 77 and Josh. **19**, 13. ARV *Dimnah*; *cf.* note on **6**, 18. 35

(9) Verses 36 and 37 are unnecessarily omitted from the Received Text; they have been supplied from some Heb. MSS and from the Ancient Versions. 36. 37

Notes on Chapter 22.

(1) Verses 1–8 are by various Deuteronomic writers; vv. 7^{a} and 7^{b}. 8 represent a subsequent addition to vv. 1–6. **22**, 1

(2) RV *Return . . . unto your tents . . . divide the spoil of your enemies* &c. 8

(3) Verses 9–34 is a new section; v. 9 repeats vv. 6^{b} and 8^{a}. The problem of this section is very difficult, being closely connected with the difficult passages in Num. **32**; but a few points are clear. As in Num. **32**, the earliest stratum is a JE narrative, which knew nothing of Half-Manasseh, but only of Reuben 9

and Gad (vv. 25. 32–34).[a] As it bears no sufficient marks of having passed through the hands of the Deuteronomic editor (R^D), we gather that the story in its original form did not seem to him of an edifying character, and was therefore omitted from his edition of *Joshua*. The original story cannot therefore have had for its moral the obligation to restrict Israel to a single altar; for to establish this restriction is a main object of Deuteronomy. This turn must have been given to the story by a priestly writer, possibly between the publication of Deuteronomy (621 B. C.) and the Exile (597 B. C.), while the exclusive rights of the Temple were not fully established. 22

But the story in its present form is much later, and must have been recast after the Exile (597–537 B. C.). Repeated and extensive manipulation makes it impossible to recover the original form of the narrative, or to indicate with any certainty the remaining fragments of JE. *Cf.* Jud. **20**, 28, where Phinehas is also introduced (*cf.* Notes on Judges, p. 95, l. 42), and where there is war, **21**, 8–15, between the eastern and western tribes; and which was similarly excluded from the Deuteronomic edition of the Book of Judges, for obvious reasons. The absence of Joshua here suggests that the original story referred to the period after the Conquest (*cf.*, however, **9**, 17–21). The addition of the Deuteronomic formula *Half-tribe of Manasseh* in vv. 9–11. 13. 15. 21, is due to a late redactor, who was familiar with the D phrase. In vv. 30. 31 an earlier corrector has added *and the Manassites* on the analogy of the preceding words. It was probably the presence of these casual additions in vv. 30. 31 which prevented the other corrector from inserting *the half-tribe* throughout. He supposed the rest had been already corrected.

(4) See note 1 on chapter **18**.

(5) According to this translation the altar is west of the Jordan in v. 10 and east in v. 11, so that v. 10 may be a fragment of the original account. RV, however, translates: *An altar in the forefront of the land of Canaan, in the region about Jordan, on the side that pertaineth to the Children of Israel*; but the whole tenor of the rest of the narrative seems to imply that the altar was east of the Jordan. An altar built by the *eastern* tribes *west* of the Jordan would be a sufficient *casus belli* on purely political grounds. 10 11

(6) *Cf.* Deut. **12**, 13. 14. (7) Num. **25**, 3. 4; Deut. **4**, 3. 16. 17

(8) That is, *JHVH is the God of gods*, the *Most High God* (Gen. **14**, 18). 22

(9) Something has fallen out, or been omitted accidentally in some stage of the redaction. RV *Let us now prepare to build us an altar.* 26

(10) That is, *Now have ye averted JHVH's punishment.* 31

(11) The name of the altar is wanting in the Received Text and in the Greek Bible. ARV supply *Ed* = *witness*, with the Syriac Bible. But probably here as in Gen. **31**, 47 f. we have an etymology of *Gilead*, omitted by some editor to avoid a clear contradiction of v. 10. *Gal'ed* = Heap of Witness. 34

Note on Chapter 23.

(1) RV *even unto the great sea toward the going down of the sun.* **23**, 4

Notes on Chapter 24.

(1) The Greek Bible has *Shiloh* here and in v. 25, to harmonize with **18**, 1; **22**. For *Shechem* see *Judges*, p. 72, l. 43. **24**, 1

[a] Here, however, the order is Reubenites and Gadites; in Numbers, mostly the reverse.

(2) That is, at the sanctuary at Shechem; according to P the Ark and Tabernacle were at Shiloh, *cf.* v. 26 and above, p. 85, l. 14. **24** 2

(3) Not directly stated elsewhere, but compare Rachel's stolen Teraphim, Gen. **31**, 19 (E) and the *strange gods* of Jacob's household, which were buried near Shechem, Gen. **31**, 1-5 (E). *Cf.* Notes on Ezekiel, pp. 126, l. 44; 134, l. 17; 137, l. 38.

(4) The Greek Bible inserts after v. 4: *and there they became a great and numerous and mighty nation, and the Egyptians oppressed them.* 4

(5) RV *according to that which.* 5

(6) The plate facing p. 42 shows Egyptian, Hittite, and Canaanite chariots of the time of Rameses II. (about 1300 B. C.). It represents the famous battle of Kadesh (see above, p. 56, l. 15[b]). The scale of the figures is in proportion to the importance of the persons represented (*cf.* the Elamite bas-relief figured on p. 164 of *Ezekiel*). Thus the great central figure is the King; note the lion carved on the side of the chariot and the uræus-serpent in front of the head-dress of the King (*cf.* the pictures of Amenophis III. and Amenophis IV., on p. 47). The uræus-serpent was supposed to emit flames destroying all who should dare to attack its royal bearer. The chariot is fitted with quivers and cases for javelins. The Egyptian chariots are on the right, and their Hittite and Canaanite adversaries on the left. The Hittites (*cf.* above, p. 56, l. 8[b]) have long hair but clean-shaven faces, while their Canaanite allies are bearded. Note the large Egyptian shields and the smaller bucklers and targets (see *Ezekiel*, p. 175) of the Asiatic warriors. The Asiatic chariots carry a shield-bearer and a driver besides the warrior; on the Egyptian chariots we notice but two men, *viz.* archer and driver; doubtless the King was similarly accompanied; but his charioteer is omitted, in order that he may be the more conspicuous. *Cf.* the Assyrian war-chariots figured on pp. 140 and 141 of *Ezekiel*. In the lower right-hand corner of our picture we see some European mercenaries of the Egyptians, *viz.* heavy-armed *Shardin*, that is, Sardinians. The hieroglyphics above the heads of the horses of the royal Egyptian chariot mean: *The good god, slayer of the nine barbarian nations, who kills millions in a moment, annihilating princes and nations, so that they tumble down in their blood, although there is no helper with him* (the King). The two *cartouches* following contain the throne name and the personal name of Rameses II. The hieroglyphic legend above the backs of the royal horses means: *The great team of His Majesty, the lustiest from the stable of Rameses II.* 6

Our polychrome frontispiece is from a similar representation of the Battle of Kadesh, on the northern wall of the great temple of Abû Simbel, on the left bank of the Nile, north of the second cataract. The comments on these pictures have been kindly furnished by Professor W. MAX MÜLLER, of Philadelphia.

(7) Apparently contradicted by Jud. **11**, 25. This fighting is not mentioned in Num. **22-24**. 9

(8) *Men*, lit. *lords*, that is, *holders*, *possessors*, *citizens*. 11

(9) Omitted in the previous narrative. *Cf.* the apparent gaps in the narrative after **5**, 12. 15.

(10) The fulfilment of Ex. **23**, 28 (E); not mentioned elsewhere in Joshua, possibly figurative. 12

(11) RV *two*, a misreading due to confusion with the two kings, Sihon, King of the Amorites, and Og, King of Bashan. The number *twelve* is apparently made up of the kings of Jericho and Ai, the five kings in c. **10**, the four kings in c. **11**, and one other, possibly the King of Beth-el.

(12) Verse 13 = Deuteronomy **6**, 10. 11. 13

(13) *Cf.* vv. 2. 23, and contrast **23**, 8 in which their hitherto persistent loyalty to JHVH is asserted. 14

(14) The Book of the Law is regarded here as capable of receiving additions from time to time. This verse betrays a consciousness of the repeated editing of the Law. 24, 25

(15) Verses 28-31 = Judges 2, 6. 8. 9. (16) *Cf.* note on 19, 50. 28. 30

(17) Gen. 50, 25 (E); Ex. 13, 19 (E). 32

(18) *Cf.* Gen. 48, 22 (E), where however Jacob conquers this portion, and Gen. 33, 19 (E).

(19) That is about $60.00 or £12; *cf.* above, p. 66, l. 15.

(20) RV *and they became the inheritance of the Children of Joseph,—they* being apparently the bones; unless it refer to Shechem and the *portion.*

(21) V. 33 is generally assigned to E, but it seems preferable to assign it to one of the late priestly editors, on the following grounds: (*a*) Except Deut. 10, 6, Eleazar and Phinehas occur elsewhere only in P and allied literature. (*b*) Deut. 10, 6 f. is a redactional addition; a stray fragment of E may have been inserted by the redactor, but, even in this case, the reference to Eleazar was probably added by him. (*c*) The late priestly editors took a special interest in Eleazar and Phinehas, whom they introduce into Joshua 22 and Jud. 20, 28 (at Gibeah as here). 33



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ALLEGED TOMB OF ELEAZAR.

The point is important, as, if this verse and Deut. 10, 6 are removed from E, that document no longer describes Aaron as the founder of a dynasty of high-priests.

(22) The alleged tomb of Eleazar (also the traditional tomb of Phinehas) is in the village of *'Awartâ*, S of Mount Gerizim (*Judges*, p. 18), near the entrance to the Plain of Shechem; but this late Jewish-Samaritan tradition is of no value. The tomb, which is whited and about five feet high, is in an enclosure, shaded by a noble terebinth tree (*cf.* note on 19, 33), adjoining a small mosque. The place is an object of great reverence both to Jews and Samaritans. *Cf.* TRISTRAM, *Bible Places* (London, 1897), p. 222.—Gibeah is probably *Jibiyâ*, E of Tibneh, not far from Shiloh.

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